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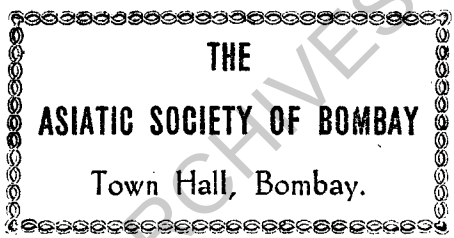

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THE DEATH OF SHIVAJI
AND OTHER ESSAYS

By

R. P. KARKARIA.

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To the Memory

Of my Teacher and Friend

The Late

Rev. JAMES HAMILTON, S.J.

Born at Glasgow, 6th May, 1839

Died at Bombay, 22nd July, 1895

Professor of English Literature

in St. Xavier's College

from 1872 till his Death

I dedicate these Essays

which have been specially collected

for this purpose.

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"Farewell, whose living like I shall not find,
Whose Faith and Work were bells of full accord,
My friend, the most unworldly of mankind,
Most generous of all Ultramontanes,——,
How subtle at tierce and quart of mind with mind,
How loyal in the following of thy Lord!"

TENNYSON.

"Can we forget one Friend! can we foreget one face
Which cheered us toward our end, which nerved us for our race!—
Oh! sad to toil and yet forego
One presence which has made us know
To God-like souls how deep our debt!
We would not,—if we could—forget!"

CHARLES KINGSLEY.

"We that had loved him so, followed him, honoured him,
Lived in his mild and magnificent eye,
Learned his great language, caught his clear accents,
Made him our pattern to live and to die!
Shakespeare was of us, Milton was for us,
Burns, Shelley, were with us,—they watch from their graves!"

BROWNING.

"Leave we the unlettered plain its herd and crop;
Seek we sepulture
On a tall mountain, citied to the top,
Crowded with culture!
All the peaks soar, but one the rest excels;
Clouds overcome it;
Thither our path lies; wind we up the heights!
Our low life was the level's and the night's:
He's for the morning.
Step to a tune, square chests, erect each head,
'Ware the shoulders!
This is our master, famous, calm and dead,
Borne on our shoulders.

* * *

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" Oh, such a life as he resolved to live,
When he had learned it,
When he had gathered all books had to give!
Sooner he spurned it.
Yet, this in him was the peculiar grace
That before living he'd learn how to live—
No end to learning:
Earn the means first—God surely will contrive
Use for our earning.
Others mistrust and say, 'But time escapes!
'Live now or never!'
He said, 'What's time? Leave Now for dogs and apes!
'Man has Forever.'

* * *

" That low man seeks a little thing to do,
Sees it and does it:
This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
Dies ere he knows it.
That low man goes on adding one to one,
His hundred's soon hit:
This high man, aiming at a million,
Misses an unit.
That, has the world here—should he need the next,
Let the world mind him!
This, throws himself on God, and unperplexed
Seeking shall find him.

* * *

" Here's the top-peak; the multitude below
Live, for they can, there:
This man decided not to Live but to Know—
Bury this man there?
Here—here's his place, where meteors shoot, clouds form,
Lightnings are loosened,
Stars come and go! Let joy break with the storm,
Peace let the dew send!
Lofty designs must close in like effects:
Loftily lying,
Leave him—still loftier than the world suspects,
Living and dying."

BROWNING.

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The Rev. J. M. Hamilton, S.J. : An Appreciation.

"The crowded meeting held in St. Xavier's College Hall, on Thursday evening, to take steps for commemorating, in a worthy manner, the services of the late Father Hamilton, S.J., Professor of English Literature in the College, and the eloquent and touching speeches made there by some of his pupils and other friends, show clearly the sterling worth of the man and the high esteem in which he was held by all. Born in Scotland, he came here at the age of thirty, and made this country his home for a quarter of a century, leading a life of continuous self-sacrifice and benevolence. The Order of Jesus to which he belonged is known in this country as well as everywhere else for the quiet, unassuming and unobtrusive manner in which it carries on its educational work ; but the ways and manner of Father Hamilton were even more than usually retiring and unassuming. Beyond the circle of his pupils and friends, he was not very widely known, and many must have come to know after his death of the exemplary life that he led far from the world's turmoil. Those, however, who came in personal contact with the man knew how kindly and genial was his disposition, how sympathetic and charitable was his nature. He was in the world though not of it. His innate shrewdness enabled him to see through human character in a remarkable way. Yet such was his charity and large-heartedness that he thought unkindly of none, and it may be said that he hardly ever made an enemy. It is no disparagement of the merits of his colleagues to say that Father Hamilton was the most popular of his Order on this side of India. During his long career here he instructed thousands of young men of every caste and creed, who have held him in the highest esteem, and who look back to their connection with him with pleasure and pride. They have shown this esteem in many ways, and we ourselves can testify to this from the unusually large number of letters, eulogising with rare unanimity, the excellent qualities of the deceased professor, that we have received, and for which we are sorry we could not find room in our columns. It is pleasant to find among educated Natives a European so popular with them. Next after Professor Wordsworth, who worked here longer and in a larger College, the late Father Hamilton was the most popular educationalist in Bombay of the present generation, and in his pupils' hearts he will hold the same place which Harkness and Sir Alexander Grant, Peet and Morehead, held in those of the last generation."—("Times of India," 3rd August, 1895).

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PREFACE.

The first two essays contained in this little book were read as papers before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society during the current year. The first is an investigation, not so far as I am aware undertaken by any previous writer, into the contemporary accounts, Mahratha, Mahomedan and European, of the death of Shivaji. It formed my contribution to the Centenary celebrations of our Society which passed off with such *eclat* last February; and was printed in the Memorial Volume of essays published by the Society to mark the auspicious occasion of the completion of its first century of existence. It also appeared subsequently in the leading Review of India, founded by the famous Anglo-Indian man of letters, Sir John Kaye, the *Calcutta Review*.

The second essay was written on the occasion when the valuable manuscripts of the late Lt.-Col. Thomas Jervis were presented by his son to the Asiatic Society in July last. Jervis was a rare character, full of genuine sympathy for the people of this country, who did much good to them during his stay in their midst three-quarters of a century ago. It was a real pleasure to call attention to such an earnest and unostentatious worker for India, especially at the present day when, unfortunately, men like him are getting rarer in the great Civil and Military Services which are so nobly fulfilling England's providential mission in India. One cause of this is not far to seek. The ungenerous carping criticism to which a section of Indians is habitually subjecting England's work in India is producing its natural consequence in damping the ardour of Englishmen in this country and in discouraging them from taking little but an official interest in what is thus proving a thankless task. But before giving way to this feeling of disgust, they would do well to distinguish between the real Indian peoples who are thankful but silent and the infinitesimal minority, which the late Lord Dufferin truly called microscopic, to which these thankless but noisy critics are confined.

The third essay tries with the aid of the Manuscript materials collected by Jervis, to depict Mahratha Rule, especially under its economic aspect, during its decline and fall under the last Peishwa, Baji Rao the second. That Rule had fallen off from the high standard attained under the early Peishwas, the worthy successors of Shivaji, especially under the first Baji Rao well worthy to be called the

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Great, and had grown very corrupt. In Western India it was the salt of the earth in its palmy days, from which even the present Rule has something to learn. But in course of time the salt had lost its savour, and it was thenceforth good for nothing but to be cast out, especially after the death of that last of the Mahrathas, Nana Fadnavis. Cast out it was and its place taken by the English. And the second Baji Rao had the mixed satisfaction of living to see, during the thirty-five years of his luxurious but inglorious exile at far off Bithoor near Cawnpore, the territories he had once misgoverned so recklessly regain, under the English, their wonted prosperity during the best Mahratha Rule.

In the appendix will be found some passages from a work of Jervis now grown very scarce and not in the Asiatic Library, which have been kindly communicated by his son from Italy, and which illustrate what I have said about his character. I am grateful to Mr. W. Paget Jervis for the interest he has taken in the part of my work connected with his father.

My thanks are due to the late Honorary Secretary of the Asiatic Society, the Rev. Mr. R. Scott, M.A., and his present successor, Mr. S. M. Edwardes, I.C.S., for the papers reprinted here from the Journal of the Society, and also to the Rev. Canon Saunders Dyer, M.A., at present Archdeacon of Calcutta, and Editor of the *Calcutta Review*, when the essay on the Death of Shivaji was published in it last October. For kindly allowing the third essay to appear here I return cordial thanks to Mr. T. J. Bennett, C.I.E., who is happily in our midst again and once more for a while Editor of the *Times of India* to which it was originally contributed : and also for suggesting it to his colleague, Mr. Lovat Fraser, but for whose encouragement it would not have been written. I must not omit to thank also Mr. James MacDonald, late Sheriff of Bombay, and Vice-President of our Asiatic Society, for his kindness in presiding on occasions when the papers reprinted here were read before the Society, and for his appreciation of them. He was good enough to express a desire when the second paper was read that it may be followed by another on the same subject. I hope he will take my third essay here as in some way meeting this desire. Such an essay I thought could not be properly read before a literary Society like the Asiatic, and I should be the last person to see its neutrality in politics disturbed by such a political paper as this third essay necessarily is to some extent ; though there is the excellent authority of historians like Freeman and Seeley for thinking that history is past politics, and politics are future history.

R. P. KARKARIA.

TARDEO, BOMBAY, *25th December* 1905.

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1.—*The Death of Shivaji.*

By R. P. Karkaria.

"Comets, importing change of times and states,
Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky,
And with them scourge the bad revolting stars
That have consented unto Henry's death."

[*Shaks. 1 Henry VI, I.* 1. *init.*]

After a career unexampled for daring and success in the annals of modern India Shivaji died in his fifty-third year in 1680. He found the Moghul Empire at its height, in the zenith of its power and extent, and in a few years he succeeded in dealing it a blow from which it never revived. He gathered round him all the forces of reaction against that Empire, and raised the indigenous power of the Hindus to a height which it formerly seemed hopeless it ever could attain under the Mahomedan rule. He carved out for himself a kingdom when Aurangzib was dismembering other kingdoms and brooked no other power in the land, but was bent on incorporating the kingdoms of the Deccan into the empire in the north and making the Moghul power really paramount throughout India. He made his own Mahratha people conscious of its own military prowess and raised it to a height which it would have been well for indigenous rule if it had retained. Shivaji himself foresaw that the power which he had built up so rapidly would not remain in its pristine vigour under his successors, as we shall presently see from the account in the *bakhar* of Sabhasad. In one generation power ceased to exist in anything but the name in his family, and would have gone entirely out of his people but for the Brahman Peishwas, upon whom chiefly devolved the momentous task of upholding Mahratha supremacy for nearly a century. They acquitted themselves very creditably of this task on the whole; and if their power went down, it was only before that of the English, a power which nothing in the land could withstand, before which the Mahomedan had already gone down, and the Sikh, greater than Mahratha or Mahomedan, was destined to go down half a century later. Before the advent of the English the Peishwas bade fair to be the paramount power in India, and even the English did not

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rest securely in their supreme position till they had disposed of the formidable power of the Peishwas. And even in later times the spectre of Brahman supremacy has continued to haunt them on occasions.

Of Shivaji's concluding moments and death there are several accounts which it would be interesting to recount here for comparison. First there is the contemporary account by the *bakhar* writer, Chrisnaji Anant Sabhasad, who wrote his life under Shivaji's son Rajaram in 1698. This is pretty long and on the whole appears faithful with its interesting details. This *bakhar* is not well-known to all students of history, and even by Mahrathas, who deservedly attach a high importance to this among other *bakhars*, it is more praised than read and studied. I think the edition of Mr. Sane is long out of print and no one seems to care to keep it in print, a good measure of the negligence of the Mahrathas for their historical literature. Sabhasad, as his name signifies, was a courtier of Rajaram for whom he specially wrote this life of Shivaji. According to him, when Sambhaji returned to Panhala after his unsuccessful overtures to Aurangzib and was reconciled to his father, Shivaji left that place for Raighad, in order to perform there the marriage ceremony of his younger son Rajaram. He said he would soon return and attend to the administration of his new possessions. The marriage was performed at Raighad with great pomp and large sums were given in charity.

Soon after, says Sabhasad, the king was attacked by fever. He was a righteous personage, and possessed foreknowledge of the time of dissolution. He thought within himself that his end was approaching and therefore summoned before him the wisest of his kárkuns and servants. He said to them that his death was approaching and that he was going to see the Goddess Bhowani and reside in the paradise of Shiva. Then he spoke as follows: "With regard to my sons, when I saw I was getting feeble, I told Sambhaji, my eldest son, at Panhala that I was desirous of dividing my kingdom between my two sons. Sambhaji did not like my proposal. My end is now approaching. From my original possession of the Mahal of Poona, which was worth 40,000 hones, I have now raised my acquisitions so as to be worth one crore of hones. I also acquired these forts, strongholds, Pagas and the army. If Rajaram lives long after my death he alone will preserve and enlarge this vast kingdom. Sambhaji is sensible, yet of loose and dissolute habits, and I do not know how to act under the circumstances especially as my end is now drawing near. You are old and experienced kárkuns and servants in this kingdom of the Mahrathas and you must therefore have already been familiar with this state of things. After my death Sambhaji will usurp everything to himself by his exploits. Being the elder son, the

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army will prefer him and flock to his standard. Rajaram being the younger son, the army will not care to win his favour. The sirkárkuns will advocate the cause of Rajaram and urge the necessity of dividing the kingdom between the two brothers. The army will not agree with the kárkuns, who will be betrayed by it. Sambhaji will put to the sword many of the eminent Brahmans of my time. There will thus be the sin of Brahman slaughter. He will next lay violent hands upon the Mahratha Sirdars in the army and degrade and even kill them. The mean and the insignificant will prevail. The respectable will dwindle into insignificance. Sambhaji will indulge in intoxicating drugs and in amorous pleasures. In the forts, strongholds and throughout the kingdom there will be injustice and offences. Sambhaji will not respect the worthy. He will squander away all the wealth and treasure. As soon as he learns of Sambhaji's weakness, Aurangzib will take advantage of the disorder into which my kingdom will fall and invade and capture Bijapur, Bhagnagar and even this kingdom. Ultimately Sambhaji will be ruined. Just as Futteh Khan turned disloyal to his father Malik Ambar Nizam Shah and treacherously deprived him of his kingdom and ultimately lost it, so will Sambhaji lose my kingdom. Rajaram will then succeed to the throne and will reconquer the lost kingdom and restore order. He will perform deeds more chivalrous than mine. Now with regard to the kárkuns, the eminent sirkârkuns of my time, Sambhaji will not allow them to see the light of day. Pralhadpant and Ramchandra Nilkanth will however be illustrious. Nilkanth will also be popular. There will be a few others similarly illustrious, but these will be very few. Of the Mahrathas, Sambhaji will extirpate many. Of those that remain, Santaji Ghorpadé, Bahirji Ghorepade, Dhanaji Jadhav will, if they live, perform chivalrous deeds. These three Brahmins and Mahrathas will prove serviceable in recovering the lost kingdom." Thus spoke the king.

Thus far Sabhasad. This speech of Shivaji is very probably composed by Sabhasad himself; but the sentiments put into the mouth of Shivaji are historically true and correct. It is interesting to find the Mahratha chronicler unconsciously imitating in this matter of speeches the great classical historians like Thucydides and Livy, who constantly compose speeches for their heroes and make them speak for themselves. The true courtier-like manner in which Sabhasad, true to his name, flatters delicately the vanity of his patron Rajaram, for whom, as we have said, he wrote this chronicle of his great father's deeds, by making Shivaji prophecy his son's greatness, reminds one of Shakespear's similar flattery of Elizabeth, under whom he wrote and for whose court he composed several of his plays, put in the prophetic mouth of Cranmer in the presence of her father, Henry VIII, though of course there is a vast gulf between these finished lines of the

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famous world-poet and the crude effort of the Mahratha chronicler :

"Let me speak, Sir,
For Heaven now bids me ; and the words I utter,
Let none think flattery, for they'll find them truth.
This royal infant (Heaven still move about her !)
Though in her cradle, yet now promises
Upon this land a thousand, thousand blessings,
Which time shall bring to ripeness. She shall be
(But few now living can behold that goodness)
A pattern to all princes living with her,
And all that shall succeed : Sheba was never
More covetous of wisdom, and fair virtue,
Than this pure soul shall be : all princely graces,
That mould up such a mighty piece as this is,
With all the virtues that attend the good,
Shall still be doubled on her : truth shall nurse her,
Holy and heavenly thoughts still counsel her,
She shall be loved and fear'd : her own shall bless her,
Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,
And hang their heads with sorrow : good grows with her.
In her days every man shall eat in safety,
Under his own vine, what he plants ; and sing
The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours.
God shall be truly known ; and those about her
From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,
And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.
She shall be to the happiness of England
An aged princess ; many days shall see her.
And yet no day without a deed to crown it,
Would I had known no more ! but she must die—
She must, the saints must have her—yet a virgin ;
A most unspotted lily shall she pass
To the ground, and all the world shall mourn her."

[*Henry VIII, V.* 5, *ad fin.*]

Sabhasad continuing his account says that after Shivaji had concluded his prophetic address, all the attendants were overcome with grief ; they stood in silence and tears began to run down their cheeks. The king seeing this said : "Grieve not ; this is but a mortal world. As many as are born perish. Calm your feelings, be of pure hearts, be peaceful and happy. Now sit quiet till I hold communion with my patron goddess (Bhowani)." The attendants accordingly sat in silence. Then the king bathed in the sacred waters of the Bhagirathi, rubbed ashes to his body, put on a necklace of Rudraksha—the berry of a tree sacred to Shiva his eponymous god—and having composed himself to abstract spiritual devotion, was lost in solemn communion. He expired at Rayghad in the afternoon of Sunday, the 15th of the light half of

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Chaitra, in the year of Saliwan 1602, Roudra Samvatsar. 'The angels of Shiva brought a chariot of the god in which his spirit was taken to Kailas, heaven; the perishable portion of himself, his body, being left in this mortal world.'

The Rairi *bakhar* is another important and authentic chronicle of the life and deeds of Shivaji. It is so called because it was deposited in the fortress of Rairi which is now conclusively identified with Raighad, the place where Shivaji died. Orme had previously placed it "fifty miles north and by west from Poona." (*Fragments of the Moghul Empire*, p. 22.) But Scott Waring has shown that Orme was misled by Fryer's account of Oxenden's mission to Shivaji. "Lieutenant Goodfellow, of the Bombay Engineers, established on the spot that Raighad to this day is called Rairi, and that instead of being north-west of Poona, it is situated thirty-eight miles west and forty-two south from Poona. This information I had always received, but it is owing to the active and intelligent exertion of Colonel Close, ardent in the promotion of all geographical inquiries, that its precise situation is now established beyond all question." (*History of the Mahrathas*, 1810, p. 199.) This *bakhar* is considered by Scott Waring, a very good authority on Mahratha historical MSS., as the most authentic of the four *bakhars* of Shivaji he had (*ibid*, p. 195). He evidently had not before him that of Sabhasad. This *bakhar*, "which was kept at Rairi, the ancient capital of Shivaji's empire" (*ibid*, p. 195), was published for the first time by the Bombay Government in a volume of "Letters and State Papers in the Bombay Secretariat," edited by Mr. G. W. Forrest twenty years ago.

In this chronicle there is a somewhat different account of Shivaji's death from that given by Sabhasad. "Shivaji marched and plundered Jalnapur. Ranmast Khan came and opposed Shivaji. One day the Khan's troops made a furious attack on Shivaji's army. Sadhoji Nimbalkar, a Sirdar over five thousand in Shivaji's service, was killed, and Shivaji was defeated and fled to the fort of Putta to which he gave the name of Vikramghad. After that Shivaji went to Raighad, and after the Dassera sent his Sirdars to collect Mulukgiri. Shivaji was soon afterwards seized with a violent fever which carried him off on the ninth day. His death happened in the year 1602 of the Salivan era (1680 A.D.). Shivaji, before he died, gave a paper, which he had written to Moro Pant Anaji Dattu Sabnavis and Babul Parbhu Chitnavis. At that time Shivaji's younger son Rajaram was at Raighad. His eldest son Sambhaji was at Panhala. The officers to whom Shivaji had given the paper gave the Government to Rajaram. The other Chiefs were averse to this measure, and joined Sambhaji." (*State Papers*, Bombay, Vol. I, p. 22.)

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Sabhasad we have seen makes Shivaji foretell the future on his death-bed. The Rairi chronicler also makes him prophetic. But he puts the event seven years earlier when his patron goddess Bhowani possessed him for a few hours and showed him future events. This is much more striking than the former account as it goes farther into the future. "When Shivaji went to take half his share of Chundi Chunjavar in the year of Salivan 1595 (1673 A.D.) the goddess Bhowani came into his body and remained there five hours, during which time she gave him a view of future events, *viz.*, that all his domains would fall into the hands of people with red faces; that Sambhaji would be taken prisoner by the Moghuls; that Raja Ram would succeed him on the musnud; that Shivaji would in the course of time come into the world again under a new form, and extend his dominions to Delhi; and that dominion would remain in the Bhonsle family for twenty-seven generations: all this Raghunath Narayan Hunavanti and Dattoji Pant Wakarnavis and Babul Parbhu Chitnavis committed to paper." (*State Papers, ut supra.*)

Of accounts by Europeans we possess two by contemporaries who were in India at the time of Shivaji's death, Manucci and Fryer. Manucci was a Venetian Physician who resided forty-eight years in India and was in the service of the Moghul Emperors Shah Jehan and Aurangzib. He wrote memoirs of the Moghul sovereigns which were derived from Moghul chronicles preserved at Delhi in Persian. They were written in Portuguese into which the Persian extracts had also been translated. They were sent to Europe in manuscript but were not published. But Father Catrou, a learned Jesuit, based his history of the Moghul Empire published at the Hague in 1715 on these MS. memoirs of Manucci, and it is through this work that we know them. Unfortunately the complete work of Catrou which includes the reign of Aurangzib and life of Shivaji is very rare, and is not in our Library, and I could not find it elsewhere. (Edition in 5 Vols., French, 1715, *Biog. Universelle sub nomine.*) An English translation was published in 1826, but this is incomplete as it comes up to Shah Jehan and does not include Aurangzib's eventful reign. We have this incomplete translation in our Library (*vide* Irvine, Art. on Manucci, in Journal Royal Asiatic Society, 1903.)

Orme, who has written much and well on Shivaji, has evidently consulted Catrou's history of Aurangzib based on Manucci's memoirs, as he says: "Catrou although guided by Manucci (who says more of Shivaji than all the other writers, and particularises the cause of his death) simply says that he died in 1679, from which we conclude that Catrou did not find the particular date in Manucci's manuscript, and gave it generally from a conjecture of his own." (*Fragments*, p. 260.)

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Scott Waring says that the account of Shivaji's death by Orme "is natural, and I should have adopted it, had I known upon what authority it was given." (*History of Mahrathas*, p. 205.) But in the passage given above Orme indicates clearly his authority to have been Manucci as given by Catrou. We will give Orme's account which seems to be a version of Catrou-Manucci, failing Father Catrou's own French. "Shivaji was gone from Rairi, but no one knew whither, a convoy of money to a great amount was coming to Aurangabad, of which as of everything concerning his enemy he received early intelligence; and taking his time before his intentions could be suspected, issued with a detachment of his hardiest cavalry, remote from all the Moghul's stations, and fell upon the convoy before his approach was known, within a few miles from Barhampore, where it would have been safe, until sent forward with stronger escort. He seized the whole, and brought it without interruption and the same rapidity to Rairi. But the purchase was dearly earned; for the excessive strain of fatigue, greater than any he had endured since his escape from Delhi, caused an inflammation in his breast, attended with spitting of blood: his disorder, although increasing every day, was kept secret within his palace at Rairi; and if it had been published would not have been believed, since he had more than once sent abroad reports of his death, at the very time he was setting out on some signal excursion; and at this very time his army towards Surat, which he probably intended to have joined, were acting with such ravage and hostility up to the walls that the city imagined Shivaji himself was commanding in person; and expected an assault with so much terror that the English Presidency sent off the treasure of their factory across the river, to the Marine of Swally, where lay some of their ships; and the Governor of the town redeemed his fears by a large contribution, with which Moro Pandit returned to Rairi to see his master die. He expired on the 5th of April 1680, and in the fifty-second year of his age. His funeral pile was administered with the same sacrifices as had been devoted the year before to the obsequies of the Maharaja, Jeshwant Sing of Jodhpur: attendants, animals, and wives were burnt with his corpse." (*Fragments*, ed. 1805, pp. 89—70.)

The other contemporary European account, that of Fryer, the famous English physician who was in Bombay and Western India from 1674 to 1682, does not throw any light on the cause of Shivaji's death, but merely records it with a wrong date, as we shall presently see, and gives details of the funeral ceremonies. Scott Waring, whose History of the Mahrathas written in 1810 is very important, and whose account of Shivaji is based as we have said above on

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four *bakhars*, including the Rairi, says: "He retired to *Raipi* (*sic*, Rairi), and as usual among the Mahrathas detached his troops after the Dasara to raise contributions from the neighbouring provinces. His constitution had now begun to fail; he was seized with a spitting of blood and expired upon the fifth of April 1680, in the fifty-third year of his age, and thirty-sixth of his reign dating it from the death of his guardian Kondev." (*Hist. of Mahrathas*, p. 87.) Grant Duff in his History of the Mahrathas first published in 1826, says that "he was taken ill at Raighad, occasioned by painful swelling in his knee-joint, which became gradually worse and at last threw him into a high fever, which on the seventh day from its commencement terminated his existence on the 5th day of April 1680 in the fifty-third year of his age." (Vol. I. p. 295.) He does not mention his authority, but he must have had some Mahratha MS. lives of the hero before him. It may be here noted that both Shivaji and Napoleon died young at exactly the same age of fifty-three, and that Julius Cæsar was only two years older at his death than either.

The usual suspicion of poison when an Asiatic ruler dies was not altogether absent in the case of Shivaji. "The Mahratha MSS.," says Scott Waring, "insinuate a suspicion of poison. The suicide of his wife, whose views (of setting her son Raja Ram on the throne) had failed, almost justifies this supposition. One Mahratha MS. expressly charges her with the murder." (*Hist. of Mahrathas*, p. 215.) It would be interesting if these MSS. were to turn up. So far as I am aware they have not yet turned up. But that there exist such we know on the very high authority of Scott Waring.

It remains to be said that the Persian MSS. attribute Shivaji's death to the prayers of a Mussalman devotee (*ibid*, p. 215). Jonathan Scott in his continuation of Ferishta's History of the Decean from supplementary Persian sources says that the curses of a Moslem saint brought about his death. In the journal kept by a Bundela officer, which came into the possession of Jonathan Scott and which he translated as "Auranzib's Operations in the Deccan," this writer who was a contemporary of Shivaji's says: "Shivaji having marched from his country to invade the Imperial territories, totally laid waste the district of Jalnehr and others; and his soldiers, notwithstanding his commands to the contrary, offered insults to the servants of Jan Mahomed, a religious devotee, from whose curses it was believed Shivaji was taken ill, and shortly after died." (*Hist. of the Deccan*, ed. 1796, Vol. II, p. 54). This is a truly Oriental explanation of the death, and it may be that the people, both Hindus and Mahomedans, believed in it, as belief in death and misfortunes from curses of holy men is very common in this country and the East generally. But the real cause is, as Scott remarks, that he died neither by

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poison, nor the visitation of God at the prayers of a devotee, but rather by an illness from fatigue in his flight and vexation at the ill-success of his arms. Shivaji, it will be remembered, according to one account, was defeated in his last expedition, and pursued by the Moghul General Ranmust Khan; and also his fleet was destroyed about this time, by the Sidi of Janjira in conjunction with the English at Bombay.

As to the date of his death almost all authorities agree that it was 5th April 1680. It was the 15th of the light half of Chaitra in the Salivan year 1602, according to Sabhasad's *bakhar*. According to calculations I have made, making use of tables given in Messrs. Sewell and Dikhshit's "Indian Chronology"* (London, 1895, Table I, p. cxxxviii), this Hindu date corresponds with the date given above and in Orme, Scott Waring and Grant Duff. Curiously the two contemporary European writers above noted give wrong dates in their otherwise excellent accounts of him. Manucci, according to Catrou, as we have seen in Orme (*Fragments*, p. 260), gives 1679; but we may adopt Orme's explanation of this mistake as Catrou's, who "did not find the particular date in Manucci's MS. and gave it generally from a conjecture of his own" (*ibid*).

Fryer, the careful physician and traveller, whose travels are so interesting for the accounts they contain of affairs in India that were happening in the eventful times when he was here in the seventies of the seventeenth century, says that Shivaji died on 1st June 1680. We quote what he has to say about his death and funeral in his own quaint language: "In the heat of all these combustions, the firebrand Seva-Gi is called to pay the common debt to Nature, he expiring June 1, 1680, though after some time his arms are carried on by his son Sambu Gi Raja, whose first care was to solemnize his father's exequies with hellish and cruel rites, after the barbarous custom of these princes, to burn all that were grateful to them when living, to attend them in the other state of life; doubtless deriving it (which is more than alluding to) from the ancient Getæ, their first parents and not theirs alone, but of all the world since the Deluge. . . . . Seva Gi while living, as he delighted in fire and sword, so he was sent out of the world with a numerous company consumed in his flames: yet not such a train as Raja Jessinsin had when he died, which was far greater, being a more potent though less barbarous Raja; but his widow now holding out against the Mogul, though his prime lady, being then big with child, was excused, and she still is preserved to bring up the young prince, whom they own for their Raja. Thus these two great Rajas being disposed of by Fate, the Gentiles seem to be under hatches (the Mogul for the present persecuting them

*Cf. also Cunningham's "Indian Eras," p. 147.

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with the utmost severity and hatred) and the rather, for that the great Ministers of the deceased Siva Gi were at variance about the promotion of the successor. Anna Gi Pundet, Chief Minister of State, setting up the younger son, and Morad Pundet declaring for Sambu Gi, the eldest; who after punishing his opposers, was before the time fit for expedition in the low countries, proclaimed Man Raja or the lawful heir to his father's conquest." (*A new account of East India*, Lond., 1698, pp. 415-6.) We may here note in passing that Fryer's quaint way of spelling Indian names though sometimes faulty owing to false analogy, is yet not without its redeeming feature. He is distinctly wrong in calling Moro Pundit, Morad Pundet; here he is misled by the false analogy which the Hindu name bears to the Mahomedan. But his method of separating the Gi or Ji in Hindu names is rational, and more likely to point out that the real name is Seva or Sambha and the Ji is a mere honorific addition.

But though Fryer was a contemporary writer, he is wrong in his date, and this Orme, perhaps the most valuable of all writers on Indian history, alike for style and accuracy, and the critical judgment with which he used all available authorities, points out ably in his note on the subject: "Mr. Fryer is mistaken in saying Shivaji died on the first of June 1680; but as Mr. Fryer did not digest his letters for publication until twenty years after their date, his memory might easily fail in correcting the error of his memorandum." (*Fragments*, p. 260.) He points out that letters from the English authorities at Bombay, Surat and Rajapore prove that the 5th of April is the true date. He does not rely on the Mahratha MSS. for this, but has English records to help him; and these latter confirm independently the former. How the mistake in the date arose may be at once seen from the letters of the Surat and Bengal authorities answering their Bombay friends who had written to them informing them of Shivaji's death. The English at Bombay wrote on 28th April 1680 saying "We have certain news that Sevajee Rajah is dead; it *is now twenty-three days since he deceased*, 'tis said of a bloody * flux being sick twelve days." (Orme from Records at the India House London, p. 259.) To this those at Surat replied on the 7th of May, "Sevajee's death is confirmed from all places; yet some are still under a doubt of the truth, *such reports having been used to run of him*

* This cause of his death is confirmed by the author of the "Maasir-i-Alamgiri," a history of Aurangzib's reign written by a contemporary writer Mustaridd Khan, and finished in 1710, a few years after its close. "On the 24th of 'Rabiul Akhir,' Siva returned from riding; he was overcome by the heat, vomited blood and expired." (Apnd, Elliot, "Historians of India," Vol. VII, p. 305 n.) The famous Khafi Khan who wrote under Aurangzib notes that "in the course of the same year (1090 of the Hegira, *i.e.*, 1680 A.D.) Sivaji was attacked by illness and died." (*Ibid.*)

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before some considerable attempt; therefore shall not be too confident until better assured." The English in Bengal were more incredulous still, and in this incredulity we see the terror in which he was held by people everywhere, the Moghuls as well as the English, in Bombay and Surat as well as in Delhi and Bengal. "Sevagi," write the Bengal agents, in reply to the Bombay letter, on the 13th December 1680: "Sevagi *has died so often* that some begin to think him immortal. 'Tis certain little belief can be given to any report of his death until experience tell of the waning of his hitherto prosperous affairs; since when he dies *indeed*, it is thought he has none to leave behind him that is capacitated to carry on things at the rate and fortune he has all along done." (*Apud.*, Orme, *Fragments*, p. 259.)

What Fryer says about the barbarous and horrid funeral rites is unfortunately true, though no mention of them is made in the *bakhars*, chiefly because they were supposed to be a matter of course and hardly worth mentioning. Orme remarks upon these rites that they "almost revoke the respect which contemplation cannot refuse to the gentle manners of the Hindus in all other observances. The Brahmans always preside and officiate in these sacrifices, and with more zeal than in any other of their priestly functions, excepting when they sacrifice themselves to save the temple of their religion." (*Fragments*, p. 261.) The mother of Shivaji's son, Rajaram, was exempted from the funeral pile, as having passed the term of beauty which, remarks Orme, seems alone to be consecrated to this cruel penalty. This wife of Shivaji, Tara Bai, was suspected of having poisoned him, as we have seen, and committed suicide when her project to place her son, Rajaram, on the throne immediately on the death of his father failed. "Toorya Bhy disappointed in her scheme of placing her son on the throne, to effect which it was supposed she had poisoned Shivaji, destroyed herself." (Scott Waring, *op., cit.*, p. 110.)

Recording the death of Shivaji, the *bakhar* writer, Krishnaji Anant Sabhasud, says that "the king was no doubt an incarnation of the deity. By his exploits he established his sway over the vast range of country extending from the Nerbuda to Shri Rameswar, and having harassed and overrun the territories of the Adilshahi, Nizamshahi, Kutbushahi and Mughlai Governments and kept in awe the twenty-five Emperors that reigned over the sea, established a new kingdom of his own and assumed the throne and Chhatra under the title and dignity of the first Mahratha Emperor, and ultimately having died when he was disposed to die, went to Kailas. No such hero was ever born nor will there be any in the days to come." And the awful events that happened when he died which the chronicler narrates, were in keeping with this character. "On the day of the king's demise there was an earthquake,

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also the rising of a comet, the falling off of stars and a pair of rainbows at night in the heavenly firmament; everywhere there was mist; the people at Shri Sambhu Mahadeo were frightened. The fishes leapt out of the water."

We might at first be disposed to set this down to Oriental credulity, and brush it aside as a pardonable untruth. The mind, and especially the Oriental mind, loves to picture the forces of Nature as mourning for their great men, and associate extraordinary phenomena with their deaths. So we might think the Mahrathas fancied all the strange things they are here alleged to have seen out of their excessive love and admiration for their national hero, who was called away from their midst. But with some exaggeration, natural enough under the circumstances, this seems to be true, and we have excellent independent evidence of an eye-witness that strange, very strange things were seen about the time Shivaji died; and it is to this I would draw your attention particularly to-day. Great calamities in which men somehow see the hand of Providence seem to be connected, or say coincide with great events in the lives of great men, their birth, accession, death. Both the accession to the throne of Akbar in 1556 and his death in 1605 were accompanied by famines of great magnitude. To take an instance nearer to our own time, as I have shown elsewhere (*Calcutta Review*, Jan. 1898) memorable dates in the life and reign of our late Queen, Victoria of saintly memory, are connected with great calamities which mark out its prominent years in India. Her birth in 1819 was marked by a great earthquake; her accession in 1837 coincided with a widespread famine and plague, soon followed by the disastrous first Afghan War; her proclamation as Queen of India in 1858, followed upon the unparalleled calamity of the Indian Mutiny; her proclamation as Empress in 1877 was in the midst of another great famine, soon followed by the calamitous second Afghan War; the celebration of her Diamond Jubilee of Sixty years in 1897 was in a year unparalleled for calamity, plague and famine and frontier wars; and finally the year of her death, 1901, saw the recurrence of famine and continuation of plague, and war in various parts, in South Africa and China.

Nature seems to burn great dates in history into the memory of men by associating striking events, generally calamities, with them. The reigns of Akbar and of Victoria are the best periods of Indian history; but in order to make them indelibly memorable, their great years, the *anni mirabiles*, are associated with striking calamities. So it seems is the case with Shivaji. The year of his exit from the land was marked by events calculated to inspire awe into the people. The death of such a popular and national hero who had succeeded in reviving the spirit of nationality among a fallen people, was in itself a

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sufficiently awe-inspiring event. To mark this event, so it seems, a comet appeared in the heavens, not an ordinary comet such as appears every few years, but a really extraordinary one, both in its brilliance and the awe that it inspired. Such a comet appears very rarely, but once or twice in a thousand years. According to the famous astronomer, Halley, it appears once only after the long period of 576 years, and according to recent calculations necessarily more exact, it appears but once in 8,813·9 years, and according to some astronomers it will never come again. (Halley's "Astronomy of Comets," apud Whiston's "Newton's Phil., more easily demonstrated," 1716, p. 440.)

The Mahratha chronicler is confirmed in the main by Fryer, who, of course, was unconscious of what the courtier of Rajaram had written. The *bakhar* was curiously written in the same year that Fryer published his travels, 1698, from his notes made in India nearly twenty years before. Fryer mentions several extraordinary phenomena as having occurred in the year 1679—80, the year of Shivaji's death. We shall quote his accounts of them here. Writing on the last day of the year 1679 he says: "This year has been filled with two portentous calamities, the one inland, a shower of blood for twelve hours; the other on the sea-coast, Mechalapatam (Maslipatam) being overturned by an inundation, wherein sixteen thousand souls perished." (*East Indies*, p. 414.) This was four months before the death of the hero. Writing in 1681, January 25, he mentions more strange events still—a few months after his death. "This year (1680) a drought was feared, which the Brahmins interpret a judgment for the Emperor's persecuting the Gentoos, which whether it gain credit among all people, I cannot tell. But that night and day a mixed multitude of all sorts ran through the streets of this city [Surat], after the Brahmins carrying a board with earth upon their bare heads and crying: *Bowe bege panne des*; on which old and young make the chorus to the precentor, sprinkling water and sowing rice thereon, saying the same after the Brahmin, which in English is *God give us water*; and on this impending affliction they are very charitable, and give great largesses to the poor." (*Ibid*, p. 418.)

Continuing, Fryer says that "I should have concluded these remarks here, had not a wonderful sign in the heavens appeared to call for animadversion, which, beginning the 20th of November (1680), disappeared not till the latter of January (1681) which enters on the next year, that within the space of our Europe fleet may bring you the rise and fall of the most prodigious comet I ever was witness to; or it may, the oldest men alive: What makes me more willing is, that I may have your account overland, whether it was visible in England, and what observations our prying world have made thereon. Eleven degrees from the earth, south-east, a terrible flaming torch was

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seen in the skies in Capricorn, near the head of Sagittarius, darting its rays upwards to the stars; at first, not above two ells in a small stream, but day by day as it inclined to the horizon, the flame grew longer but slenderer; it rose first at three in the morning, and so later and later till the sun outshone it; and as if it had circled the globe, at last it arose and set at nights, after the sun was down, when we beheld it W.N.W. which was on the evening of the twelfth of December, and about seven at night; at first no bigger than a man's hand from its coming forth of the horizon, which thence arose with a mighty *fulgor* or shining light for more than nine degrees, as big as a rainbow towards the highest part of the hemisphere; or, to speak more truly, like a pillar of fire, whose basis, whether for its tardy rise of the clouds gathered about the atmosphere, I could not discern till the seventeenth, it setting about nine o'clock; but after that time it ascended above the horizon, and passing the middle of the heavens (which afore it seemed to enlighten after seven) as it grew higher it lost of its brightness and splendour, but looked more fiery. January, the 16th, 1680, it had attained its zenith, when about the noon of night it vanished, and so by degrees at last it came to nothing. While this was reigning, several in the Hole [Swally—Hole near Surat] and Bazzar, at Swally, attested they saw two moons; others of our Englishmen, out a hunting after sunset, saw an unusual star of the bigness of the sun, which must certainly be this fiery ejaculation, striking obliquely upwards, being equally thick, until its highest part had stretched itself into a column. It pointed towards the north, and whether it be meteor, comet, or exhalation, it is certainly ominous; and since they disclaim its influence here, I wish it may not affect our Europe kingdoms; for says Clandian :—

> "In coelo nunquam spectatum impune Cometam"
> "In Heaven no Comet ever shin'd
> Which was not grievous to mankind."
>
> (Fryer, *ibid*, p. 419.)

This is all very like what Sabhasad says happened at the time of Shivaji's death: "the rising of a comet, the falling off of stars, and a pair of rainbows at night." Fryer even adds to these wonders his own : "a double moon, a 'star of the bigness of the sun,' and a shower of blood." The earthquake spoken of by the chronicler is evidently the tidal wave, the "overturning inundation" at Maslipatam mentioned by Fryer. It may be noted that Fryer does not connect them with Shivaji's disappearance from the earth, and the Englishman would have no motive, as the native chronicler would have, in magnifying the event.

Leaving the other strange phenomena alone for the present, we shall pursue the comet further. There is not the slightest doubt that it

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appeared a few months after Shivaji's death. It is famous all over the world and is historical, in that it was the first comet whose course was scientifically examined. The great Newton utilised it to give a valuable confirmation and proof of his gravitation theory, and deduced, from his observations of it, his famous laws of parabolic orbits for comets. "The great comet of 1680," says a distinguished astronomer of our day, Prof. Simon Newcomb, "is remarkable for being not only a brilliant comet, but the one by which Newton proved that comets move under the influence of the gravitation of the sun. It first appeared in the autumn of 1680 and continued visible most of the time till the following spring. It fell down almost in a direct line to the sun passing nearer to that luminary than any comet before known. It passed in perihelion on December 18th, and, sweeping round a large arc, went back in a direction not very different from that from which it came. The observations have been calculated and the orbit investigated by many astronomers beginning with Newton ; but the results show no certain deviation from a parabolic orbit. Hence if the comet ever returns, it is only at very long intervals. Halley, however, suspected with some plausibility that the period might be 575 years, from the fact that great comets had been recorded as appearing at that interval. The first of these appearances was in the month of September after Julius Cæsar was killed ; the second in the year 531 ; the third in February 1106 ; while that of 1680 made the fourth. If, as seems not impossible, these were four returns of one and the same comet, a fifth return will be seen by our posterity about the year 2255." (*Popular Astronomy*, ed. 1878, pp. 374-5.)

Gibbon, in his great work, has noted the appearance of this comet in the reign of Justinian, when it was the precursor of unparalleled calamities, plague, war and famine over the Roman Empire, and made the following interesting observations about its various other appearances, or apparitions as they are technically called, in his stately and measured manner. "In the fifth year of his reign, and in the month of September (531 A.D.), a comet was seen during twenty days in the western quarter of the heavens, and which shot its rays into the north. Eight years afterwards, while the sun was in Capricorn, another comet appeared to follow in the Sagittary ; the size was gradually increasing ; the head was in the east, the tail in the west, and it remained visible above forty days. The nations, who gazed in astonishment, expected wars and calamities from the baleful influence, and these expectations were abundantly fulfilled. The astronomers dissembled their ignorance of the nature of these blazing stars which they affected to represent as the floating meteors of the air ; and few among them embraced the simple notion of Seneca and

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the Chaldaeans, that they are only planets of a longer period and more eccentric motion. Time and science have justified the conjectures and predictions of the Roman sage; the telescope has opened new worlds to the eyes of astronomers; and in the narrow space of history and fable, one and the same comet is already found to have revisited the earth in seven equal revolutions of 575 years. The *first*, which ascends beyond the Christian era 1767 years, is coeval with Ogyges, the father of Grecian antiquity. And this appearance explains the tradition which Varro has preserved, that under his reign the planet Venus changed her colour, size, figure, and course: a prodigy without example either in past or succeeding ages. The *second* visit in the year 1193 is darkly implied in the fable of Electra, the seventh of the Pleiads, who have been reduced to six since the time of the Trojan War. That Nymph, the wife of Dardanus, was unable to support the ruin of her country; she abandoned the dances of her sister Orbs, fled from the Zodiac to the North Pole, and obtained from her dishevelled locks, the name of the *Comet*. The *third* period expires in the year 618, a date that exactly agrees with the tremendous comet of the Sibyll, and perhaps of Pliny, which arose in the west two generations before the reign of Cyrus. The *fourth* apparition forty-four years before the birth of Christ, is of all others the most splendid and important. After the death of Cæsar, a long-haired star was conspicuous to Rome and to the nations, during the games which were exhibited by the young Octavian in honour of Venus and his uncle. The vulgar opinion that it conveyed to heaven the divine soul of the Dictator, was cherished and consecrated by the piety of a statesman; while his secret superstition referred the comet to the glory of his own times. The *fifth* visit has already been ascribed to the fifth year of Justinian, which coincides with the year 531 of the Christian era. The *sixth* return in the year 1106 is recorded by the chronicles of Europe and China; and in the first fervour of the Crusades, the Christians and the Mahomedans might surmise, with equal reason, that it portended the destruction of the infidels. The *seventh* phenomenon of 1680 was presented to the eyes of an enlightened age. The philosophy of Bayle dispelled a prejudice which Milton's muse had so recently adorned, that the comet 'from its horrid hair, shakes pestilence and war.' Its road in the heavens was observed with exquisite skill by Flamstead and Cassini; and the mathematical science of Bernouilli, Newton, and Halley investigated the laws of its revolutions. At the *eighth* period in the year 2255, their calculations may, perhaps, be verified by the astronomers of some future capital in the Siberian or American wilderness." (*Decline and Fall*, Ed., Bury, 1898, Vol. IV, pp. 432—4.)

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Thus the comet of 1680 was probably that which visited the earth at the time of the death of Julius Cæsar, 44 B.C. ! ; and the mind loves to dwell on this singular coincidence. It is surely extremely interesting to see the two great men, Cæsar and Shivaji, the greatest men of their respective nations, thus united in their deaths by this awful link in the heavens. We are not permitted by science to connect earthly events with the strange appearance of comets in the heavens in a causal relation. But it is surely an extremely interesting coincidence that the same comet in the course of his very rare visits to the earth, should have selected the years of the disappearance of these two great men from the earthly scene. "It is conceded," says the late Dean Farrar in connection with a similar phenomenon in the heavens, on a far more awe-inspiring occasion, the birth of Christ, "by many wise and candid observers, even by the great Niebuhr (History of Rome, Vol. II, 103), the last man in the world, to be carried away by credulity or superstition, that great catastrophes and unusual phenomena in nature have as a matter of fact—however we may choose to interpret such a fact—synchronised in a remarkable manner with great events in human history" (*Life of Christ*, Vol. I, p. 35). We may then surely prefer to err with such a dispassionate authority as Niebuhr, such an iconoclast among historians, and be even open to the charge of credulity and superstition, and dwell a little longer on this particular remarkable synchronism of the comet's visits with two great events in human history. The death of Cæsar was an event similar to the death of Shivaji, in its effects on Roman history. Both marked the close of brilliant careers. Both Cæsar and Shivaji destroyed the mighty powers that existed, and both built other powers destined to take their place. Cæsar destroyed the Roman Republic which was so potent for good as well as evil during many centuries ; and his death led to the establishment of the mighty Roman Empire, fraught with such awful destinies for the world as then known. Shivaji dealt a mortal blow and led to the destruction of the Moghul Empire, which, for more than a century had been omnipotent in India ; and his death led to the transition period of Mahratha rule, a period necessary for the final triumph of the English in India, during which the country was saved from anarchy by the worthy successors of Shivaji, the great early Peishwas. The two periods were those of vast transition, the world passing away from its old masters, and old creeds and ideals to new ; in the one case Paganism was giving way to Christianity, perhaps the most awe-inspiring change in all the world's history, in the other Islam was slowly but surely and steadily yielding its former supremacy in India, never to regain it again, making room for revived Hinduism and later on for a Christian power. Surely these were epochs which were worthy of being marked by extraordinary phenomena in nature, and they were, we may fancy, marked by

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such, among others, by the visits of a comet which comes but once in six centuries, and which has the longest period of all. To say this is not superstition. It is to acknowledge the profound wisdom of Providence which moulds human history on earth in a way which, in spite of our knowledge, is yet mysterious, and which also guides the course of those strange orbs in the heavens.

This synchronism of the famous comet with Cæsar's and Shivaji's death is not noted by any writer. Should this paper draw the attention of some to the interesting subject, and elicit further views, its object would be gained. I know that some astronomers are of opinion that the comet that appeared at Cæsar's death is not identical with that of 1680, which appeared after Shivaji's death. "Halley's conjecture," says Mr. Chambers, "has since been shown to be unlikely." (*Astronomy*, p. 342). And he calculates the period of the comet to be 8814 years: "this, however, is subject to much uncertainty, inasmuch as the observations might possibly be satisfied by an 805 years' ellipse, or even by a hyperbolic orbit," in which case the comet would never return, but appeared only once. As Prof. Bury says in his note on Gibbon's passage quoted above, it may be that "the identity is merely an ingenious speculation of Halley. There is nothing in the data to suggest 575 years, nor have we material for comparison with the earlier comets which Halley proposed to identify." (Ed. of Gibbon, Vol. IV., appendix p. 545). The tendency of modern astronomic thought is to give the comet of 1680 the unusally long period of 8813·9 years, or even to say that it is unique and without a period. This does not much affect what we have said. On the contrary it accentuates it. The epoch when Shivaji died appears to be of such high importance as to be marked by a most brilliant comet which never before in recorded history had visited the earth and never will visit it for several thousand years to come. It is interesting to note that if a prodigious comet marked the exit of Shivaji, another famous comet heralded the birth of Napoleon in 1769. 'It was called after that great man who looked upon it as his protecting *génie*, and whose belief in it is well known.' "It was visible to the naked eye with a tail from 60° to 80° long. Bessel assigns 2090 years as the most likely period. He has shown that an error of 5 seconds either may increase the period to 2673 years or diminish it to 1692 years." (Chambers' *Astronomy*, ed. Oxford, 1877, p. 345.) Napoleon's death was not allowed to pass by without another comet being seen. It was, however, a very small one, having a tail of 2½° length. It shone a few weeks before and after his death in May 1821. 'The Heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes.' (*Shaks. Julius Cæsar II. ii.* 31.)

Lieut.-Col. Thomas Best Jervis (1796-1857) *and his Manuscript Studies on the State of the Maratha People and their History, recently presented to the Society by his Son. By R. P. Karkaria, Esq.*

(*Read, 27th September* 1905.)

When I first looked into these MS. volumes, some two months ago when they were presented to our Society in this historical year of its Centenary, I saw that they possessed a great value for students of the subjects they treat of; and accordingly I willingly adopted the suggestion of our learned and energetic Honorary Secretary, the Rev. R. Scott, that I should write for the Society a paper on them. I took it up all the more readily and turned aside from my other work for a time, as I learned with regret that he was soon to leave us for a long holiday in his native country. The good wishes of our Society, which he has served so ably for nearly five years, will, I am sure, accompany him thither; and I trust that on his return he will continue to give us the benefit of his literary ability and rare scholarship.

These MSS. have been appropriately presented to us by his son, who is settled in Italy as the Conservator of the Royal Industrial Museum at Turin, and is the author of a valuable work on the Economic Geology of that country, as their author was a former member of our Society and the brother of one, who was our Honorary Secretary, Capt. George Jervis, from 1827 to 1830, during the momentous years when under the guidance and advice of our distinguished member, Sir John Malcolm, our Society changed its name of the Literary Society of Bombay given in 1804 by its founder, Sir James Mackintosh, in favour of its present designation and consented to become the branch of a much younger Society, the illustrious newly founded Royal Asiatic Society of England. Thomas Best Jervis gave the best years of his life to this Presidency, which he served for nearly thirty years from 1812 to 1841, in various capacities as an Engineer Officer of the Hon'ble East India Company. But he had more than a mere official connection with this country and its peoples. He may be described by applying to him that significant phrase, an old type of Anglo-Indian officer, who did not merely sojourn in this country, but took a real and hearty interest in its peoples and tried to ameliorate their intellectual and moral condition.

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Perhaps the phrase may imply a slight to the present race of officers among whom, too, men like Jervis are not rare. But it must be said that in former days they were not so rare as now. It may be that official work has grown to such proportions as to leave little or no leisure or time for anything else. But where there is genuine sympathy for the people and a real interest in their pursuits and welfare, even hard-worked officers nowadays can, and some do, find time for doing good work unofficially.

But I think much of the explanation of the great interest taken by former officers of the East India Company is to be found in the fact that they had a family interest in this country and a hereditary connection with it. The present competitive system of choosing men to serve here has many advantages, but this decided disadvantage that it is not in the power of a father to prolong or even perpetuate his connection with this country by putting his sons and grandsons into the service. But in former times the sons and nephews were selected as if by right to succeed their fathers and uncles in the various services, civil and military, of this country. Hence, the ties which bound them to this land were closer and stronger. The family of Jervis was an instance of this. Benjamin Jervis, the grandfather of Thomas Best, entered the Bombay Civil Service so far back as 1747, and rose to be the Chief of Surat, when that city was of far greater importance than it now is, and died there in 1774. His son John Jervis, the father of Thomas, joined the Civil Service as if by right, and served in Ceylon as Assistant to the Resident there, when that island had just been acquired from the Dutch. He died there at the early age of 27 in 1797, leaving three sons who also all served in Western India. The eldest, George, retired in 1830 and was presented with an address and a piece of plate worth Rs. 3,000 by the leading Indians when he retired, to mark their sense of gratitude for his services, especially to Native education which was then in quite a nascent stage. Thomas Best was John's second son, born, only a year before his death, at Jaffnapatam in Ceylon on 2nd August 1796.

Thomas Jervis came of distinguished stock; and an elder branch of the family gave to England a famous admiral, Sir John Jervis (1735-1823), who won the great victory of St. Vincent's over the Spanish Navy in 1797 and was raised to the peerage under that title. A cousin of Thomas, another Sir John Jervis (1802-1856), became a distinguished lawyer, and was Attorney-General under Lord John Russell from 1846 to 1850, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. (*Dict. National Biography*, Vol. XXIX, p. 363). His mother was of Polish extraction, belonging to a family long in the service of the Princes of Hanover whom they accompanied to England on their accession to the British Throne. She was connected through

her mother with the famous German man of letters, Grimm ; and some of the literary qualities of that great German were seen to be inherited by his kinsman. Thus cosmopolitanism was in his blood, and this goes some way to account for his sympathy with the Indians, especially Marathas, which came naturally to him. Thomas chose the military service like his brother George, and passed several years at Addiscombe College preparing for his future career. Among these MS. volumes is one containing what are called "Addiscombe Studies" which shows how thoroughly and diligently the young cadet prepared himself at that Military Academy for his future work. He took elaborate notes of lectures on fortification and mining, and translated extracts from such standard French works as those of Lacroix. Here we find the first traces of his taste for observation and practical geography which rendered him famous in after years as one of the most distinguished officers of the famous Indian Survey. To this volume is attached a short but valuable memorandum of instructions for boring into the bed of hard stone found in sinking wells for water on the Islands of Bombay and Salsette, written later for Framji Cowasji, a famous Parsi Agriculturist of Bombay, who had a large estate in Pawai, Salsette.

Jervis arrived in Bombay in the beginning of 1814. Things were in a ferment then in Western India. The great native power of the Peshwas was, under the feeble and intriguing rule of the second Baji Rao, tottering to its fall, which came a few years later at the Battle of Kirkee in 1817. Baji Rao surrendered himself to General Malcolm soon after, in consideration of an unprecedentedly large pension of eight lakhs a year—for promising which Malcolm was afterwards severely censured—and a life of ease which he loved more than duty or honour. He passed his remaining days till his death in 1851, in luxurious exile at Bithoor near Cawnpore, leaving an adopted son, the notorious Nana Sahib, who did such incalculable mischief both to the Indians and the English in 1857. His extensive territories came into the hands of the English, and the great power of the Peshwas, which had flourished for just a century from 1718 to 1817, was extinguished. The territories conquered from the Peishwa were annexed to the Bombay Presidency which thus received a very important accretion. This was a vast field for all officers, civil and military, young and old, in which many distinguished themselves. The work of settlement of the new Deccan and Konkan provinces, ably begun by Elphinstone as their first Commissioner, was carried out in the same spirit and under his guidance as Governor, by his successors, Chaplin and Robertson with the assistance of a large body of younger officers, civil and military, in whom new zeal had been infused by the arduous work before them.

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Young Jervis was appointed to take his part in this work in October 1819 as Executive Engineer of the Southern Konkan. The forts which stud the country and which are such a feature of it, were first dismantled and then allowed to fall to ruin as the best way to render them harmless. Jervis was in charge of these forts and in addition to his military duties he was required to superintend the new civil buildings that were required for the purposes of administration. He gives us a glimpse of the hard nature of the work to be done in this capacity: "In a newly-conquered country, where there had not been a European establishment or station before, excepting at the commercial residencies of Bankot and Malwan, all things had to be done anew. There were absolutely no workmen, nor materials, such as were expected or required in many instances for large public works and buildings; all depended mainly on the temper, industry, energy and foresight of the Superintendent. . . . With regard to those people, more especially those who were about the public offices in the capacity of writers and accountants, to watch over these, and standing alone as I did, to maintain efficiency, despatch and *rectitude*, demanded no ordinary vigilance; but to bring about all these objects and obtain a permanent and public proof of their regard was a higher testimonial. . . . The sentiments of the Hon'ble Court of Directors and the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone have been placed on record in the Parliamentary papers published in 1832." (*Memoir* pp. 11—12).

In 1820 happened an event which gave him splendid opportunities for employing his knowledge to one definite purpose, and gaining that experience which afterwards raised him to the highest post in the line he had chosen—a post which he unfortunately gave up before entering on its duties in order to retire finally from this country. He was appointed in that year to make the Statistical Survey of the Southern Konkan. Three years later in January 1823 the greater task of the Trigonometrical and Topographical Survey of the same vast tract of country was entrusted to him. Henceforward Survey work was his chief occupation and even hobby. This work in the Southern Mahratta Country brought him into the closest contact with the people for whom he had a natural liking, and led him to make those enquiries into their condition in his time and their past history whose results are preserved in these manuscript volumes. Of his happy relations with the people under his charge and of their confidence in him, we hear in a letter written to him by his Collector, Mr. J. H. Pelly, at the beginning of his period as a Survey Officer: "During the whole of the time you have been in this 'zillah,' during which period many thousands must have been in your employment, not a single complaint against you from a native has ever reached my ears, nor have you yourself had more than two or

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three complaints to prefer against them; and when it is considered that, instead of collecting workmen, as has too frequently been the practice, at the point of the bayonet, attended with other acts of grosser personal violence, your labourers or *bigaris*, not only *willingly uncompulsatively travel 100 miles for the privilege of being employed by you (though even the bayonet cannot induce them to serve others), but no punishment appears more effective to them than dismissal from your employment.* Now, I believe, the main secret of your management consists both in a humane and just demeanour to these poor creatures, whom to your lasting honour you appear to regard as fully entitled to every privilege common to human nature. In paying them a just price for their labour instead of forcing eight men to work for a Chinchuri rupee, you allow them in the proportion of a rupee to six men, which under a mild and equitable treatment it is demonstrated *they will voluntarily work for, although nothing but armed men can compel them to labour on lower terms.* I earnestly hope the salutary example you have thus afforded will not be lost on some older and more experienced heads, but lead them to regard the natives of India as something more than mere machines, formed to administer to our pleasure and convenience." (*Memoir* p. 13.)

It must be remembered that Jervis was a young Lieutenant of barely twenty-five years when he was addressed in these flattering terms by his senior officer in December 1820. What is said here about the wages of the Maratha labourers forms the subject of an elaborate discussion in these MSS., where Jervis shows that the economic condition of the people at the time of the dissolution of the Maratha rule was very miserable. The chief value of these studies into the economic condition of the Maratha people, especially the agricultural part of them, made at a critical period of their existence, namely when they passed from the indigenous rule of the Peshwas to British rule, lies in their affording us accurate materials, gathered by a very competent and sympathetic enquirer, for comparing their condition then with their condition at later periods and at the present day. Such a comparison would be very instructive and edifying in these days when British rule is submitted to severe and not unfrequently to captious criticism. These MS. studies of Jervis of the condition of the Konkan, deserve to rank by the side of the more famous but hardly more valuable studies of other parts of the Maratha country embodied in the reports of Mountstuart Elphinstone and Chaplin on the Deccan and Malcolm's report on Central India. Jervis did not make his results as interesting as Malcolm, partly because he lacked the literary ability which was so conspicuous in the latter and also in Elphinstone, and partly because Government did not encourage him as it

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did them to publish these to the world. Partly also he did not care much, as his heart was not so much in these economic and historical researches as in his great Trigonometric and Topographical Survey. These were merely *parerga* with him, and he did not care to publish them.

Indeed he published very little of his work to the world and was content with submitting official reports which lie forgotten among the records of Government. A portion of his statistical memoir of the Konkan, that relating to the revenue and land tenures, was communicated to the Bombay Geographical Society, which was then in a flourishing state but which is now amalgamated with our Society, and appeared in its Journal. He also published a report on the weights and measures of the Konkan (1829) which was expanded in 1836 into a somewhat larger work, called "Meteorological and Monetary System throughout India," published in Bombay. In 1835 he published in Calcutta a somewhat remarkable Essay on a similar subject called "Records of Ancient Science exemplified and authenticated in the primitive Universal Standard of Weights and Measures." This Essay was transmitted to Captain Henry Kater, Vice-President of the Royal Society, who, however, died before it reached him. In this Jervis very ingeniously suggests his universal standard as "regulated and defined by the mean length of the pendulum ; the weight of water at a maximum of density and the metre or forty-millionth of the earth's polar circumference." The thesis of this Essay is that all weights and measures were originally derived from the same standard which he considered to have been the mean length of the pendulum vibrating seconds at 45° latitude, and which only differs by a very small fraction from the length of the metre (Memoir p. 45.) This Essay was widely distributed by Government to its officers for their opinion, and by the author to distinguished men of science in England and elsewhere for their remarks. The various suggestions that he received as well as other correspondence connected with it, are embodied in one of these MS. volumes which contains several additions and corrections for a new edition of the work which he seems to have meditated but never published.

At the end of this MS. volume is a document which should be of great interest on the personal side of the history of Science in Engand in the first half of the last century. It is a memorial addressed to the Chairman, Deputy Chairman and the Directors of the East India Company, on behalf of Major Jervis, by the Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Fellows of the Royal Society, the Royal Geographical, the Geological and other leading scientific Societies, in which they endorse his views and scientific proposals and urge that the Company should promptly publish in the transactions of these societies or elsewhere the results of his labours on the Survey of India. This was a very

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influential move on behalf of Jervis and had its due weight with the Directors, who had already appointed him provisionally Surveyor-General in succession to Col. Everest who has given his name to the highest peak of the Himalayas. The interest of the memorial to us, however, lies in the fact that it is signed by all the leading men of Science of the day in England, and here we have collected in a single page the autographs of some forty of the greatest names in English Science. The list is headed by a Royal Duke, the Duke of Sussex, an uncle of Queen Victoria, who was then President of the Royal Society and whose signature with its curious strokes and flourishes is the most remarkable in this collection of autographs. Then follow such men as Sir David Brewster, President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Sir William Hamilton—not the distinguished Scotch metaphysician, (1788-1866), who, of course, had no business here among men of science and who cared little for Jervis's peculiar pursuits, but the famous Irish mathematician and astronomer, (1805-1865), who was then President of the Royal Irish Academy—and Prof. Whewell, the President of the Geological Society. There is another William Hamilton, (1805-1867), here, a geologist and geographer, who was President of the Royal Geographical Society. There are, besides, Michael Faraday who true to his retiring nature comes among one of the last to sign, Sir Charles Lyall, the geologist, Sir John Lubbock, the father of the present Lord Avebury, a distinguished astronomer, Sir Roderick Murchison, the great geographer, Sir George Airy, the Astronomer Royal, Adam Sedgwick and many others. Altogether this page of autographs is curious and valuable and is an acquisition to be preserved as a literary curiosity in our Museum. The facsimiles of these autographs were very skilfully done at Jervis' own lithographic press which he kept for some time at great cost and ultimately loss to him at his house in London on his retirement. From this press he issued several maps, which are beautiful specimens of cartography, including an excellent one of Bombay based on the survey of Dickinson and Tait *in 1812-16*, which he published in 1843. This rare map with another of Bokhara is not in our collection and I have presented it to our Society to be kept by the side of these MS. volumes. The late Mr. James Douglas thus characterises this map of Bombay. "Of maps, the best of the Island of Bombay, both for accuracy and execution, was printed in London in 1843, and represents the City and Island in 1812-16. This map of Thomas Dickinson's is a perfect *chef d'œuvre*. Major Jervis' signature is at the foot. This is a perfect gem of the engraver's art and can never be excelled." (*Bombay and Western India*, Vol. I., p. 145). There is a reproduction of it on a smaller scale in Douglas' book. (*Ibid* I., 174).

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This memorial so influentially signed on behalf of Jervis seems to have given great offence to Col. Everest, (1790-1866), the Surveyor-General in India, whom Jervis had been provisionally appointed to succeed, because no mention was made therein of his valuable services and those of his staff. "This proceeding," says Sir Clement Markham, the distinguished President of the Royal Geographical Society just retired, in his Memoir of the Indian Surveys, "excited great indignation in those distinguished officers who had borne the heat and burden of the day, and gave rise to a series of letters addressed to the Duke of Sussex, as President of the Royal Society, from Col. Everest remonstrating against the conduct of that learned body." But Sir Clement is mistaken in his observation that "these letters so completely gained the writer's object that nothing more was heard of Major Jervis in connection with the Surveyor-Generalship" (*Indian Surveys*, 1873, p. 77.) As his son shows in the Memoir which he has recently drawn up with pious care of his father's life and to which this paper is much indebted, the real reason why Jervis did not wait to take up his high appointment, was that Col. Everest did not retire as it had been anticipated by the East India Company he would, but continued for several years after in the office, and Jervis for purely private reasons, as he wanted to superintend personally the education of his children at home, retired earlier than Everest and thus did not remain in India long enough to be Surveyor-General. (*Memoir*, p. 50.)

The information contained in these MSS about the condition of the Maratha people was gained at first hand in the course of his official duties. As he says himself, "I had great and singular opportunities of traversing the country in every possible direction, to acquire a far more intimate and exact knowledge of the topography, physical character and resources of the whole country than any other individual." He gives us some notion of the great care which he bestowed on all his work and especially this work of statistics and history in an official letter. "I have the honour to acquaint you that I have despatched to you a large parcel containing in all about 1,496 papers on statistical and revenue subjects and a bundle of English papers. I have entrusted these papers to an intelligent Shastri, a native highly learned in the Hindu laws, customs, etc., and the Sanskrit language, who is in my private service. 'A' is a general specimen of the population tables which will enable any person desirous of ascertaining the correctness of the same to do so with little trouble or inconvenience. These documents have been attested as coming nearly within the truth, as far as judgment could be passed on them, by the most respectable and oldest residents of the villages and towns. I beg most particularly to state that I have examined them with the greatest

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care and attention. I have left no means untried to ensure their accuracy, and have had recourse to every art which propriety and ingenuity could suggest, to render them worthy of confidence. The statistical papers are on all subjects connected with the produce, circumstances, history and extent and other matters relating to the southern divisions of Malwan and Salshi. Specimens of these have now been translated and written out, to show their nature and value. The inquiries which I have instituted were made after a most careful and particular review of the manners, rights and institutions of the people. A slight view will show the immense trouble and attention which must have been bestowed on them, and I beg to state that there are many facts brought to light in them which will be well worth the consideration of the public authorities in this country, and conduce greatly to ameliorate the condition of a people once sadly oppressed. I do not wish to produce anything hastily, or to build any arguments on incomplete grounds. The daily intercourse which I have with the natives, the facilities which are constantly afforded me to see narrowly into their private character, customs and manners, will enable me to furnish in a short time such an account of them as will be most satisfactory to the Government and most essentially beneficial to the people themselves."

It is to be regretted that the account of which he speaks here was never published, though it must have been submitted to Government and might be now rotting somewhere among its records. The present MS. studies are a contribution towards such a complete account of the state of the Maratha people of the Konkan. For instance—the MS. contains a valuable section on the education of the people from which I have given an extract bearing on the interesting subject of indigenous education. But he seems to have written and sent to Government a larger report on this subject which was not printed, but which would be highly interesting at the present day if it were forthcoming, as a means of comparing the moral progress achieved to-day with the moral state of the Maratha people at the beginning of British rule nearly ninety years ago. About this report he says in one of his letters: "I likewise sent up to the Government a very full and exact report of the state of education in the Konkan and on the system of education followed by the Mahomedans and Hindus, with a very complete series of tables, twenty in all, exhibiting the number, character, etc., of the schools of the several districts in 1820 and 1824, contrasting the state of education after the lapse of five years that the country had been under British management with its condition when it first came into our possession. With respect to the practical working of these principles, which I had so fully discussed in my report on education, I sub-

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join an extract from the official minutes of Government on the Southern Konkan School Society founded by me with the co-operation of the natives. This novel principle of getting the natives, a conquered people, completely wedded to their own system of government and superstitions, to go hand-in-hand with the British nation in their philanthropic schemes for the further amelioration of India, will probably be recognised at no distant period as the surest and best way of governing the people of that great Empire, and more especially in which demands of a pecuniary nature are to be made on them, or deep-rooted prejudices to be overcome." And he gives an instance of how the people of India may be brought to co-operate with their English rulers in improving the country and voluntarily participating in the pecuniary burdens of the State. "The native," says he, "at my suggestion and by my exertion and advice, came forward first in regard to the Colaba Causeway to pay down 20,000 rupees towards the expense, and further to secure the Government against all possible charge by excess of estimate beyond the amount sanctioned by the Hon'ble Court, provided an experienced engineer officer were appointed to the superintendence of that work, and the work itself were executed by contract." (*Memoir*, pp. 19-20.)

The Konkan when Jervis took it in hand for the purposes of obtaining knowledge about the condition of the people, was quite an unexplored country about which the new rulers knew almost nothing with the exception of a very few places on the coast like Bankot. He thus describes his labours there: "I had to travel continually from one end to the other of this long and mountainous strip of territory at all seasons and sometimes with great haste. I therefore very soon found, in addition to other impediments, that the public servants of Government knew nothing of the country or its resources; that we were at first absolutely at the mercy of the native civil revenue and Magisterial officers subordinate to the Collector and Magistrate in everything. Our knowledge of the geography of the country was also limited to the verbal information of the guides and farmers and the sketch maps by the late General Reynolds and Col. Johnson. All the information that the Collector's and Judge's offices could afford me was always at my command, and indeed the same liberality was invariably extended to me by all the members of the Civil Service to whom I had ever had occasion to apply; but the imperfection of our knowledge on all these matters was the frequent subject of regret to us, and first set me on the idea of communicating my thoughts to the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone on his first accession to the Bombay Government in 1819. They were most favourably received. Every fresh occasion for promptitude in travelling and despatch in the completion of the public works

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committed to me led me to dwell more especially on the lamentable deficiency of our geographical knowledge, and I was persuaded by the late Brigadier-General Kennedy, then commanding officer of the division, to address him an official letter on the subject. I knew no more profitable and creditable way of employing my time in these intervals than in acquiring a correct knowledge of the geography and resources of this unexplored territory." (*Memoir*, pp. 13-15.)

He set to work for nearly ten years and produced valuable reports on the Konkan, its history, peoples, customs, etc., which lie mostly in MS. either in these volumes now presented to us or in the archives of Government. It is a matter of great regret that he was not encouraged to digest all this scattered information into a comprehensive monograph on the Konkan, like Malcolm's excellent work on Central India. It is well known that this work of Malcolm grew out of a report which he was asked to furnish about Malwa (*cf.* Kaye's *Malcolm*, Vol. II, p. 328). From Elphinstone's official report of his mission to Cabul grew his celebrated work on Afghanistan (*cf.* Colebrooke's *Elphinstone*, Vol. I, p. 200). But Jervis was at that time not nearly so famous as these great Anglo-Indians ; so nobody suggested the possibility of his expanding his reports on the Konkan. Moreover, it was not a country as attractive to the public as the Deccan or Central India, not the home of great battle fields on which empires are won and lost, though it has great interest for us as the home of the Mawalis and Hetkaris: who crossed the Ghauts and fought so bravely on the table-land of the Deccan, the fights that have been celebrated in numerous songs and *powadas*. What is known as Jervis' *Konkan* in Anglo-Indian literature is only a fragment of his work on that country, namely that on the land tenures ; but the whole of his work on the Konkan would indeed be an acquisition, and it is not too much to hope that we may one day have it by bringing together and publishing in convenient form his studies here and the Government reports in MS. Such a work as that of Jervis, but not so comprehensive nor showing an equally deep knowledge of the language and habits of the Marathas, was undertaken fifty years later by a member of the Bombay Civil Service, Alexander Kidd Nairne, a man of kindred tastes to Jervis in this that he became on his retirement from the service a priest and worked for the sake of humanity among the poor. This is published in the *Bombay Gazetteer*.

This reminds us of another phase of Jervis' character, his missionary zeal and the intense religious spirit that infused all his work. He was a great friend of the first batch of professed missionaries who then worked in Bombay and Western India amid such difficulties, particularly of Dr. John Wilson, (1804-1807), a name honoured and endeared in many ways on this side of India, but specially honoured in these halls

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as that of the presiding genius of our Society for full forty years, and of Dr. James Murray Mitchell (1814-1904) who has just closed a life of varied benevolence and usefulness, prolonged beyond its natural limit, peacefully in his own country among his kindred. It is not generally known that Jervis designed and superintended the erection of the old Free Church Institution in Khetwady which housed for over a generation the Wilson College that has done so much with that other Christian Institution, St. Xavier's College, for the higher education of our people in Western India. But he did not identify himself with any section of the Christian Church, but sympathised and worked with them all in a truly Christian spirit. In this spirit he joined the Evangelical Alliance when it was first instituted. Writing on the subject his son remarks: "He early joined the Evangelical Alliance on its institution in 1846, the members of which strove to do away with the mutual antagonism too common between the various sections of the Church of Christ, and so baneful to the spread of vital Christianity in the face of dead formalism, and by which he merely manifested the course he had always previously pursued in India of having a brotherly affection for all those who followed the Saviour as their Head, not troubling himself with dogmatic or administrative differences, the importance given to which is generally exaggerated most unwisely." (*Memoir*, p. 60.) But though he was well known to everybody here, Europeans and natives alike, as an open upholder of Christian Missions and the staunch friend of the missionaries, yet as his son well says, "proselytizing of whatever kind, in the absence of perfectly personal conviction, he repudiated and denounced" (p. 34). He was a great friend of the Indians as he proved throughout his career by his efforts, especially in behalf of Maratha education, helping his brother to translate and publish several works in Marathi for the benefit of that people, as was acknowledged by them in several ways; and the name of Jervis is familiar to them as that of one of their earliest friends and benefactors. His opinion of the Indian peoples and their character is valuable as that of a sympathetic yet discriminating and acute observer. "They are perhaps the most docile, tractable and sharp-sighted people in the world; they are therefore peculiarly disposed to religion, open to any superstitious fraud, but slow to apprehend a deep and consequential truth. They are quick to acquire and discuss all knowledge, but have little originality or depth of thought. They are brave and patient in the face of evils and trials, which the European nations succumb to; but timid in lesser dangers which the latter smile at. They are faithful to a fault, accessible to counsel, order, and any degree of discipline, by proper management and consideration, but may be

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roused to the most bitter and vindictive feelings, or turned aside by example and negligence and perverseness to the lowest state of degradation and wickedness. This great and very intelligent people is now under the sceptre of a gracious and powerful Queen, who loves all her subjects, and will find these amongst the most faithful and useful on any emergency, in the exercise of her sovereign wisdom ; though rash experiments on our part might alienate and sever that union for ever." ('India in relation to Great Britain.' *Apud* Memoir, p. 51.)

The other volumes of these MSS contain some of his professional work on the great Trigonometrical Survey of Western India on which he was employed so long and with which his name is so closely and honourably identified. The calculation of triangles and other technical details may be useful to students of geodesy. His survey work here was very useful, though as a pioneer he was not free from inaccuracies, some of which are so serious as to render them in the opinion of a competent authority, Sir Clements Markham (*Indian Surveys*, p. 85), now obsolete. Another competent writer about the middle of the last century in Bombay knowing well the facts says : "In this Engineer officer's (Jervis) manuscript report of his land survey in the Konkan, an incorrect latitude is assigned to many places ; and we have been given to understand that not very lately an error was discovered in the triangulation, which renders it, as far as correct distances are concerned, nearly useless." (*Bombay Quarterly Review*, 1856, Vol. III, p. 133.) These triangulations and latitudes are now in our possession in these MS. volumes, and any enthusiastic student of this subject may enter into these calculations and confirm or refute these remarks. Whilst engaged in this arduous work he received from his Indian, especially Maratha, assistants, trained by him to do the work, great help which was generously recognised by him in these terms after his retirement : "On the Trigonometrical Survey I required signals to be placed by sun-rise on different far-distant summits, often difficult of access, and gave my orders to my several people. On the appointed day I directed my theodolite towards the required spots in *absolute certainty* that the flag would be hoisted at the appointed time and place. Such conscientious fidelity to orders puts to shame too many nominal Christians at home. Should I be able to count so implicitly on loving unquestioning obedience on their part? The poor heathen gives us an eloquent example of duty accomplished." (*Memoir*, p. 35.)

I think I have made it clear in this slight sketch of Jervis' career and character with the help of his correspondence, and his studies in these MS. volumes, that he was inspired by lofty ideals of doing good to the country and the people in whatever he did officially and unofficially,

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and that by his pious God-fearing conduct towards all, especially the Indians, he realised in a large measure these ideals in active life, spreading sweetness and light wherever he went. Lives like his ought to serve as a stimulus and an inspiration to Englishmen in this country, whose peoples have profited much by the silent, almost forgotten, exertions of men of the type of Thomas Best Jervis.

Of Maratha history proper there is one manuscript, and it is very important. It gives an historical account of all the great Maratha families like the Bhonslés, the Peshwas, the Pratinidhis, the Gaekwars and scores of others who have played a part in the eventful history of the Marathas. I have never elsewhere seen so much useful information gathered together about these families as is done here by Jervis. He treats of nearly one hundred families and also gives the genealogies of the chief. This is a very useful work of reference on the somewhat intricate history of Maratha Clans and well deserves to be published by itself. I append some interesting extracts, which will show the importance of these MSS.

ACCOUNT OF THE MAHARS.

A very important tenure in villages is that of the low-caste people, called Mahars by the Mahrattas and Dhers by the Moosalmans. They have enam lands in all villages divided into Hurkee and Arowlah ; the former is rent-free and generally bears but a small proportion to the latter. The Arowlah is held on a quit rent. In the neighbourhood of Joomar and at Kothool, Purgh. Kothool, Ahmednagar Collectorate, I met with a new species of Mahars' enam, called Seesollah ; this is also rent-free, and held in addition to the two former. These enams vary in extent in different villages. In only one instance in the large town of Tembournee has it came to my knowledge, that the Mahras have not enam lands, and in that place they have to perform all the customary duties for the Government and the town, as if they have enam lands. The Mahars conceive that they have the right to mortgage or dispose of the lands held for the performance of specific duties, and at this moment the whole of the Mahars' Arowlah at the town of Mahe, Tur-Muhekohreh, Poona Collectorate, is mortgaged to the Patel. They were originally mortgaged to the Deshmook for a sum of money, who transferred them to the Patel. Independently of their Hurkee, Arowlah and Seesollah, the Mahars have a share of the cultivated produce, whether garden or field ; this is called their Bullooteh. Every village in its original constitution is said to have had 12 craftsmen and professions, who in their several lines perform all that the cultivators required to be done for themselves individually and the village generally—the smith, carpenter to mend their implements of husbandry,

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the barber to shave them, the washerman to wash for them, the potmaker to make pots, &c., &c. These 12 persons were paid or supported by an assessment in kind. They were divided into three classes and obtained their share of Bullooteh agreeably to the class they stood in. In the first class were the carpenter, shoemaker, ironsmith and Mahar. In the second class the washerman, potmaker, barber and Mang, and in the third the waterman, the astrologer, the gurow or cleaner of the temple, and the silversmith. Since the Musalman rule the Moolana or Musalman priest has been added, and in some villages the Kulkarnee claims to share in the 3rd class. I say nothing about Alooteh as part of the village community, for no two persons agree with respect to the constituents of this class, and it is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the cultivator could ever have supported, by fees in kind, 12 additional persons when he paid 50 per cent. to Government. And I am told the Bullooteh and Hakdar rights stood him in an average of 25 per cent., leaving him only 25 per cent. for his own maintenance and agricultural charges.

The Mahar who shares in the first class in consequence of his numerous duties shares also again as a third class Boollootehdar. The fee in kind appears to be a percentage on the produce, but it is not uniform throughout the country, and very rarely indeed could I get either the cultivator or Boollootehdar to state specifically what the one gave, or the other looked upon himself entitled to receive annually. It depended very much, I was told, upon the crops and also upon the extent of services performed for each individual cultivator.

THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

The land tax being more than 82 per cent. of the whole revenue of the country, in speaking of the condition of the people I would wish my observations to be considered chiefly applicable to the class paying this proportion, namely the agriculturists. In the present report I have shown that since the date of my first report the principal articles of agricultural produce have fallen in value from 25 to 66 per cent., *i.e.*, rice 66, wheat 25, joaree 52, gram 32 and bajree 36. Imports have certainly also fallen in price, but not in a similar ratio. Wages remain the same. The trifling manufactures continue to decline, the value of money is enhanced, and the assessments are not yet lightened. If, therefore, my first report gave unfavourable picture of the condition of the people, it may be supposed, under the operation of the above causes, that I am still deprived of the gratification of painting it in more agreeable colors. My late researches have extended over 5,900 square miles, a superficial extent more than double that of the first report, and I am constrained to say, that the marked features

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of poverty and debt, formerly spoken of, characterize the condition of the people throughout the new tracts, and that I see no reason whatever to modify the opinion I formerly expressed with regard to the causes of such a state of things. There is no doubt, however, that the poverty complained of is not the poverty of want: every cultivator throughout the country has a superfluity of the mere requisites for the support of animal life. This poverty is pecuniary poverty, and it bears heavily upon him in the relation in which he stands to the Government and to his creditors. He cannot convert a sufficiency of his grain into money to pay his taxes to the former, nor fulfil even in part his engagements to the latter. His taxes were increased by the cupidity of the former Government, and his debts contracted by his improvidence or forced upon him by his increased assessments, but this was at a time when his agricultural produce was worth from 100 to 300 per cent. more than its present worth. Supposing him therefore to have been taxed formerly to the extent of his means, in equity his taxes should have been lightened in the ratio of the fall in the value of his produce.

I stated in my first report there would shortly be calls upon Government to mitigate the assessment. The recent large remissions to the amount of 20 per cent. of the revenue of the Poona and Ahmednagar Collectorates proved the immediate pecuniary inability of the people, and the revenue survey as far as it has gone in its prospective assessments has justified the opinion I expressed, by lightening the burdens of the cultivators. Nevertheless the distress, the people complain of, is unquestionably not attributable to the revenue administration of the Company as originating with the Company. With trifling exceptions the assessments and extra cesses are the same, in name, number and specific amount as under former Governments.

The only great change appears to be in Government through the medium of its collectors professing to settle with each individual cultivator, instead leaving it to the authorities to do so as heretofore, and this agreement should seem advantageous to the cultivator insuring him (could he read or write or keep accounts) from the exactions of intermediate agents. The benevolence of the Government has sufficiently manifested in the facility with which remissions have been granted, and not one instance throughout the country has come to my knowledge of the assessment being realised by coercive measures, involving the seizure of stock, or punishment, further than temporary personal restraint, and in case the cultivators' prosperity could be estimated by the small proportion of his gross produce taken from him by the Bombay Government, it should be comparatively *marked*, as I have shown under the section of assessments, that he contributes to the necessities of the State 7 per cent. less

than persons of his class did under Mullicomber and 23 per cent. less than in the ceded districts under Sir Thos. Munro, the proportions taken being respectively under the three Governments a tenth, a sixth and a third. The complaints of distress therefore seem scarcely compatible with these facts. In my numerous conversations with the cultivators and even with our own district officers, in various parts of the country, I have urged them to explain unreservedly the causes of the sufferings they complain of. Increase in cultivation, increase in cultivators, meagre crops, enhanced assessments, diminution in the size of farms and the withdrawal of part the money circulating medium, have been so repeatedly advanced in reply to my interrogatories as reasons for the present pecuniary inability of the people, that I was induced to look with attention into them, although involving in themselves incompatibilities. For the purpose of determining the truth of the first four positions, I established a comparison, as rigid as circumstances would admit of, between the state of certain towns and villages under the Peshwa's Government and under ours. I chose places far distant from each other that I might, if possible, secure to my deductions the advantage of a general application. I will admit that I undertook the labour with impressions in unison with those of the cultivators and I was somewhat surprised, therefore, at the results falling infinitely short of my anticipations.

EDUCATION.

My continued inquiries into the state of education in the country have only been confirmatory, to the very letter even, of the observations I made in my first report on this important subject; I will not repeat, therefore, what is already on record, but take leave to refer to it.

The literary ignorance of the bulk of the people is almost incredible, and could scarcely be deemed compatible with an organized or even incipient civilized state of society. In many neighbouring villages in which there is only one Kulkurnee or accountant, I have known it to be the case that not a single inhabitant has been able to read, write or calculate; and yet this ignorance does not originate in any physical causes. Native children of all the castes are distinguished for their aptitude, sprightliness and intelligence, and some conspicious instances of decided ability have appeared in the English schools for the instruction of natives in Calcutta and Bombay, in their poetic powers, in English composition, in a taste for drawing and in mathematical acquirements. Amongst my native acquaintances there is a Hindu who repairs astronomical, mathematical and meteorological instruments, and who has an eager desire to master the rationale of all philosophical

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experiments which he witnesses. A common ironsmith in Poona has kept himself in constant poverty by vain searches after the philosopher's stone, but his labours have made him acquainted with many chemical facts. The facile adaptation of this man's ingenuity to the supply of European wants, in his particular line, is both gratifying and useful. A poor outcaste shoots specimens in the animal and feathered kingdoms and has taught himself to skin and stuff them, and he lately commenced drawing birds in outline with a singular correctness. One man repairs watches, and a Hindu, in Poona, I am told, constructed an orrery. The general ignorance, therefore, is to be referred to the absence of instructors in the first instance and in the next to the poverty of the people disabling them from profiting by instruction unless afforded to them gratuitously. Wherever this is done, the schools are well attended and the progress of the scholars is commensurate with the ability and zeal of the instructors. Mr. Elphinstone's noble attempt to impart instruction by means of Government schools, if fully developed, will unquestionably be productive ultimately of incalculable benefit to the people themselves and to the State, particularly in case the better classes of the natives become acquainted with our knowledge, our arts and sciences, through the medium of our own language. If it be our object to break down the barriers which separate us at present from the natives, to undermine their superstition, and to weaken their prejudices, and give them a taste for elevated enjoyments, it will be most effectually done through this medium. Translations of European books into the native languages by Europeans, although highly useful, must have the drawbacks of being limited in number, defective in execution and destitute of the attractive grace of idiomatic expression, whereas a native, once taught the English language, has the whole field of knowledge laid open to him. We have before our eyes the effects of Mahomedanism, modifying the supposed immutable habits, opinions, superstitions and usages of the Hindus. The language of the conquerors is almost universally understood, and most commonly spoken by all classes in India. The Mahrattas worship Mahomedan saints, keep their festivals, and at the great annual celebration of the martyrdom of the grandsons of Mahomed, Hussain and Hassan, numbers enrol themselves in the list of those who publicly deplore their deaths.

I have given instances of tombs being raised over Mahrattas in the Mahomedan style of architecture, and many parts of the present report testify to the adoption by a Mahratta or Brahman Government of Mussalman terms in politics, administration of justice, finance, agriculture, architecture and even in domestic economy. If such then have been the results from the simple juxtaposition of Hindus and Mussalmans, what might not be expected from a systematic attempt to imbue

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the minds of the rising generation with rational and useful European knowledge by means of Government schools. Under present circumstances, the expense of such a measure prevents its adoption on an extended scale, but as precipitancy would be injurious as any urgent manifestations of interest on the part of Government would excite suspicions, and as ultimate success is dependent on the slow but gradual and almost insensible operation of knowledge on the opinions and habits of those who may have voluntarily sought and gratuitously received instruction influencing the circle in which they move by their examples, rather than in prompt, simultaneous and extended measures for general instruction, the few schools existing at the presidency and an occasional one or two in cities or large towns, although insufficient, will yet forward the great object in view to a limited extent. A few natives will be sent out with a sufficiency of education to impress on their minds the advantages that would accrue to their children in case they surpassed themselves in acquirements, and such an impression will be efficacious.

I attended a public examination of the scholars of Government schools in Poona and of the pupils of the Engineer Institution and native schools in Bombay. I looked also into the school rooms at Ahmednagar. In the Engineer Institution and native schools some of the boys (not particularly those of the highest or wealthiest classes) showed an efficient knowledge of the English language, and the progress of others in mathematics and drawing was remarkable. The two Poona schools were examined before the Collector and some European gentlemen on the 16th May 1827 by Sadashiva Bhau, the head native instructor in the present schools in Bombay. There were about 150 pupils, most of them the children of Brahmans, ten or a dozen of the first class boys were called up, none of them had been twelve months in the schools. They were examined, in the first instance, in reading a printed translation of Æsop's fables into Marathi in the Balbodh character. They read fluently and seemed to understand the compendium of the morale which is given of each fable, instead of its full translation. They subsequently read parts of Maratha histories in the Modi and Balbodh characters; they wrote down on slates sentences dictated to them, and spelt them. They wrote also on paper, and gave very favourable specimens of distinct and bold hands. Arithmetic they were taught on the European plan, and one or two of the boys had got as far as the extraction of the cube root. The boys all evinced considerable quickness, and the examinations were creditable to themselves and to their teachers. Prizes of turbans, cloths and books were distributed, the value of the present being in the ratio of the talents and the progress evinced by the boy.

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THE BHONSLE.

The origin of the rise of Shivaji is too well known to require any elucidation in these notes. He died in Raighur in the month of April A. D. 1680 and was succeeded by his eldest son Sumbhaji, who with his son Sewaji was both taken prisoner in the year 1694 and carried to the Court of Aurungzeb, where the former suffered a cruel death, and the latter, being spared on account of his youth, grew up under the protection of the accomplished Fululnissa Begum, Aurungzeb's daughter. At the request of the Princess, it is said, he changed the name of Sewaji to that of Sahooji, which he ever after retained. Raja Ram, the younger son of Shivaji, was raised to the throne in the Fort of Rangna in 1695, and died in June 1698, leaving two sons, Shambhuji and Sheewajee, by his two wives Rajeesbye and Tarabye. The latter succeeded his father on the throne, but evincing symptoms of insanity some years after, he was deposed and confined by his own mother in the year 1703, who raised his half brother, Sumbhajee, to the Musnud of Kolapoor, which he made his residence. In the year 1707 Aurungzeb died, Shahajee obtaining his liberty came to Sattara to claim his kingdom. He was for some time opposed by his aunt, Tarabye, a clever and ambitious woman, the widow of his uncle Raja Ram. Shahoo Raja at length consented to share the empire with his cousin, Sambhajee, who was permitted to retain Kolapoor and all the country south of the Warna and Krishna, while to Sahooji was left all to the north of those rivers. Tarabye retired to Kolapoor and lived to an extreme old age. Both she and her stepson, Sambhajee, dying in the same year A. D. 1760.

Shahoo Raja, of indolent and luxurious habits, to manage his Government made it over to his minister the Peshwa, Balaji Viswanath, to whom succeeded Bajirao Ballal, and his son Balajee denominated Nanasaheb. Shahoo Raja died without issue, 27th December 1749, when the Peshwa having brought forward Ram Raja, the son of Shiwajee and nephew of the reigning Raja of Kolapoor, caused him to be adopted as the son Shahoojee. From that day the subversion of the power of the House of Satara was complete, and that of the Peshwas established. Ram Raja having no children, many years after adopted, at the instance of Nana Fadnavis, a youth of the family of the Deshmukhs of Wavel in 1777, and dying in following year, 1778, the Second Shahoojee succeeded to the Musnud of Satara. The semblance of respect was still maintained towards him. A guard of honour of 500 horse was appointed by the Peshwa to escort and to watch him, and his expenses were limited as well as the range of his excursions in the neighbourhood of his capital. All reports of war and peace and the result of campaigns, however, were regularly submitted for his information, and while the creation of new and the nomination to the succession of

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hereditary offices and estates derived confirmation from him alone, the Peshwa himself was not deemed exempt from accepting this token of homage. The revolution which succeeded on the death of Sawai Madhavrao at Poona in October 1795 afforded the Raja an opening to emancipation, of which he did not fail to avail himself, and seizing the person employed to control him, encouraged his full brother, Chutr-sing, to raise troops and seek for foreign aid. The effort, however, was too feeble,—Shahoo the Second became henceforward a closed prisoner in the Fort of Satara and died 4th May 1808, leaving three sons, of whom the eldest, Partapsing, was raised to the throne by the British Government in February 1818, and still reigns.

THE GAEKWAR.

This family from an inconsiderable origin has risen to become one of the Princes of the Mahratta State.

It is said they are Patails of the village of Dhowry, Nimbgawn in the Poona Prant. Peelajee the First, who distinguished himself, was an officer with 15 retainers, in the service of Kuddum Bandy Brothers, whose flag the family still uses. After the first or second inroad into Gujarat, the Raja of Satara, not conceiving the Kuddumsing calculated to establish themselves permanently, deputed Peelajee with a large army, which assembled in the first instance at Moholy near Satara, and thence marched to the north. The success of Peelajee was complete. Peelajee commanded a division in the battle of Panipat, and died shortly after his return, at the village of Sowlee near Baroda, of a fever. He was succeeded by his son, Damajee, who had long before been distinguished, but some hesitation occurring in sending the Cloth of Investiture from Satara, Damajee repaired to court with an army estimated at 100,000 men. He was induced by the solemn oaths interchanged between the Raja and himself to disband his army, but having been plundered by the Peshwa at the instance of the Raja, on his return he swore he would never pay the compliment of salaming with that hand which had been pledged in that of his princes, in a false oath—since which period the Gykawars assume the peculiar privilege of saluting with the left hand.

Damajee died at Bhavee Pattan in Gujarat in the reign of the Great Madhavrao, leaving four sons, of whom Sayajee Rao, the eldest, was an idiot. The part which Govind Rao, the second son, took in favour of the exiled Raghoba Dada prevented his acceding to the Musnud till after the death of both his young brothers, Fatty Sing and Manajee, who had successively reigned. He sat on the Musnud only three or four years, when he died, leaving three legitimate children, who have each reigned in succession, the youngest, Sayajee, being now on the gadhi.

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THE ANGRIA.

Kanoji, the son of Tukoji, a Maratha chief of the family of Angria, first attained eminence while in the service of the Raja of Satara by the capture of the fort of Raighur from the Hubshee chief of Kolaba in the year 1698 and subsequently distinguished himself in the war in the Koncan carried on by the Marathas against that portion of the Mohamedan dominions, on which occasion he acquired the title of Surkhyle. Taking advantage of his own power, and the dissensions which broke out in the Satara family after the return of Shahu Raja, he not only refused to render him submission, but made an effort to establish an independent sovereignty along the whole Koncan Coast, from Goa to Surat, including the hill-forts on the low range of Ghats with the country below them. Till at length having been worsted in many actions by the superior State of Satara, peace was concluded, and Kanoji consented to acknowledge the sovereignty of Shahu Raja. On which occasion the whole of the seaports from Viziadurg as far as Kolaba remained in Angria's possession, and reverted first to his eldest son Tukoji and in two years after to his second son Sambaji, between whom and his son Manoji dissensions arising, the latter fled to the English at Bombay, but meeting with no aid in that quarter he proceeded to Poona and became reconciled to his father through the Peshwa, but on the death of Sambaji his brother Tulaji, disputing the right of his nephew, was eventually seized by the Peshwa and died after a confinement of 31 years in prison. The piratical practices of the Angrias on all nations approaching the western coast of India are matter of history, and do not admit of illustration in this place.

As the British power preponderated, they gradually subsided, and after the peace of Bassein they ceased altogether, while the once powerful Angria encroached on by the Peshwas from time to time dwindled into insignificance leaving in possession of the family at the breaking out of the war a territory yielding two lakhs of rupees in the neighbourhood of Kolaba and Andhery, of which about half has been alienated for religious purposes or for the reward of services performed by courtiers at Poona.

THE PESHWA.

The founder of this family, Balajee, the son of Wiswanath, a Chiplony Brahman, was the hereditary desmook or zemindar of Shreewardhan on the sea coast of the Southern Koncan. He so recommended himself by his ability and energy at the Court of Satara that he was nominated to the office of Peshwa in 1717 and was succeeded at his death in 1720

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by his eldest son, Baji Rao. Under this chief the power of the Peshwaship became supreme and the Raja of Satara was satisfied to continue a mere pageant. Baji Rao was succeeded in the year 1740, at his death, by Balwant Row entitled Nanasaheb, during whose rule, Sahojee, the Raja of Satara, died without issue, and from that date the Peshwa was acknowledged as chief and exercised the power of Sovereign of the Maratha Empire.

His lieutenants carried their conquests over the whole of Hindoostan and Guzerat, levied heavy tribute from the Nizam, and wrested the Empire from the Mughul, and raised contributions in Bengal, and conquered Cuttack. Nanasahib died in 1761, and was succeeded by his second son, Madhaorao, called "The Great." He died in 1772 at the age of 28, after giving great promise of his talents and vigour. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Narayan Rao, who was murdered in 1773 in his palace at Poona in the presence of his uncle, Raghoba Dada. Narayan Rao was succeeded by his posthumus child, Saway Madhavrao, during whose minority the State was ruled by his Minister, Nana Furnavis. On the death of SawayMadhaoRao in 1795 without children, he was succeeded by his relative, Baji Rao, the eldest son of Raghoba Dada, who, expelled from his dominions after a desperate effort to recover all the power of his ancestors which he had forfeited by his imbecility, abdicated his sovereignty on 3rd June 1818 in favour of the British Government on condition of receiving annually Rs. 8,00,000. His brother, Chimnajee Appa, receives a pension of Rs. 2,00,000, and Amritrao, the adopted son of Raghoba Dada, Rs. 7,00,000 which has lately descended to his son.

NANA FURNAVIS.

The ancestor of this great Minister was Madhojee Punt Banoo, a Chiplony Brahman, the Mahajim of the village of Velloss in the Taluka of Bankote. He first left his native village and came to Satara in consequence of an invitation from the first Peshawa Balajee Vishwanath, whose brother Tanoo Vishwanath had found protection in his house after his defeat by the Hubshees near Sreevurdhan. The three sons of Madhoji Punt obtained service at Court and the elder, Balajee, was raised to the office of Furnavis and died at Delhi, whither he had accompanied the Peshwa. His sons, Janardan Punt and Baboo Rao, succeeded to his office, the former died before the latter, leaving an only son, Balajee, who, flying from the battle of Panipat, escaped to Poona, and in conjunction with his uncle, Baboo Rao, and his son, Moroba, filled the office of Furnavis.

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It is unnecessary here to enter into any particular history of Balajee Janardhan, better known by the appellation of Nana Furnavis. He succeeded to the supreme control of the affairs of the whole Maratha Empire in 1774 and exercised his power with a sagacity and conduct rarely met with. On the death of Saway Madhao Rao in 1795 and the subsequent contention for the throne he lost much of his power and expended the whole of a fortune amounting, it is said, to nearly five millions in his endeavour to regain it. He died of a fever in 1800, leaving a widow Jeoo Bai, who enjoys the following income :—

	Rs.
Pension from the British Government	12,000
Deshmuky of Verval (Ellora)	500
Enam Village of Menowly near Waee	1,000
Mahojunky and Koteky of the native village of the family Vellass in the Talooka of Bankote	200
Income Rs.	13,700

Management of the revenues of the religious establishment of the Bele Bagh at Poona producing Rs. 5,000.

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Truth about Maratha Rule in its Latter Days.

THE chief value of the Manuscript papers of the late Lt.-Colonel Thomas Jervis, recently presented to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, lies in their enabling us to realise the state of Maratha rule in Western India at its close on the downfall of the last Peishwa, Baji Rao, in 1817. Jervis was employed in the territories conquered from the Peishwa soon after their annexation to the Bombay Presidency, and for ten years from 1820 to 1830 he worked hard to introduce settled administration in the country. He succeeded to a great extent, and was able to report considerable progress at the end of ten years. But long years of misrule and anarchy could not but leave their effects on the people and the country, and he was everywhere confronted with them. The British did as much as they could to improve the wretched condition of the people, mostly agriculturists. But they had a very hard task. "For myself," says Jervis, "I am much disposed to attribute the cultivator's distress to his former poverty and debts originating under the farming system of the Peishwa, which from the continued disproportion between supply and demand depreciating the value of agricultural produce, has wholly disabled him from emancipating himself. The fees in kind also to Hukdars, village officers, etc., amounting, as I have been assured by some farmers, to 25 per cent. of their gross produce, bear very hard upon them." What Jervis says of the evil effects of former rule, which it must be remembered was the indigenous rule of their own people, is true even nowadays, so deeply has it left its mark on the character of the people. "The country wants capitalists, men full of enterprise, expedients, and perseverance, who, if unsuccessful in one line, would readily turn their industry into other channels, take advantage of the varying demands of the times, and adapt themselves to events, originate exchangeable commodities where they are wanting, and improve the value of those already existing. The most substantial farmers are destitute of the necessary means to embark in any speculation even were they not deterred, by habit, example, and prejudices from innovations, on the present routine of rural economy, viewed as the results of the experience of their fathers, and as such sacred from pious associations. Independently however of these obstacles, the cultivators' total want of education and the limitation of their general knowledge to the narrow sphere in which they move, disable them from receiving those lights which might operate beneficially in their minds and stimulate them to exertions, which it is hopeless to look for in their present state of ignorance."

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Of the state of ignorance of the people Jervis draws a picture in lurid colours. "My continued enquiries into the state of education in the country have only been confirmatory to the very letter even of my former observations. The literary ignorance of the bulk of the people is almost incredible, and could scarcely be deemed compatible with an organised, or even incipient civilised state of society. In many neighbouring villages to which there is only one koolkurnee or accountant, I have known it to be the case that not a single inhabitant has been able to read, write or calculate, and yet this ignorance did not originate in any physical causes." The Maratha Government did not do anything in the matter. But as soon as the British took up the country, they found the people very intelligent, and not at all indifferent to acquire education. Writing in 1827, hardly ten years after the Deccan territories passed from Maratha to British rule, Jervis is enabled to speak with pleasure on the change effected for the better. "Native children of all castes are distinguished for their aptitude, sprightliness and intelligence, and some conspicuous instances of decided ability have appeared in the English schools for the instruction of natives in Bombay, in their poetic powers, in English composition, in a taste for drawing, and in mathematical acquirements. Amongst my native acquaintances there is a Hindu who repairs astronomical, mathematical and meteorological instruments, and who has an eager desire to master the 'rationale' of all philosophical experiments which he witnesses. A common iron-smith in Poona has kept himself in constant poverty by vain search after the philosopher's stone; but his labours have made him acquainted with many chemical facts. The facile adaptation of this man's ingenuity to the supply of European wants in his particular line is both gratifying and useful. A poor outcaste shoots specimens in the animal and feathered kingdoms, and has taught himself to skin and stuff them, and he lately commenced drawing birds in outline with a singular correctness. One man repairs watches, and a Hindu in Poona, I am told, constructed an orrery. The general ignorance, therefore, is to be referred to the absence of instruction in the first instance, and in the next to the poverty of the people, disabling them from profiting by instruction unless afforded to them gratuitously. Wherever this is done, the schools are well attended and the progress of the scholars is commensurate with the ability and zeal of the instructors. Mr. Elphinstone's noble attempt to impart instruction by means of Government schools, if fully developed, will unquestionably be productive ultimately of incalculable benefit to the people themselves and to the state, particularly in case the better classes of the natives become acquainted with our knowledge of arts and sciences through the medium of our own language. If it be our object to break down the barriers which

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separate us at present from the natives, to undermine their superstition and to weaken their prejudices and to give them a taste for elevated enjoyments, it will be most effectually done through this medium."

Jervis was too sanguine about the effects of educating the Marathas in the English language. He was led away in thinking thus by the analogy of the effects of the former Mahomedan rule on the Marathas, which were apparent even in his days. If the Mahomedan rule could thus leave its permanent marks on the Marathas, it was tacitly argued, it was not too much to expect the same of the far better rule of the English. "We have before our eyes the effects of Mahomedanism modifying the supposed immutable habits, opinions, superstitions and usages of the Hindus. The language of the conquerors is almost universally understood, and most commonly spoken by all classes in India. The Marathas worship Mahomedan saints, keep their festivals, and at the great annual celebration of the martyrdom of the grandsons of Mahomed Hussain and Hassan, numbers enrol themselves in the list of those who publicly deplore their deaths. I have given instances of tombs being raised over Marathas in the Mahomedan style, and many parts of the present report testify to the adoption by a Maratha or Brahman Government of Musulman terms in politics, administration of justice, finance, agriculture, architecture, and even in domestic economy. If such, then, have been the results from the simple juxtaposition of Hindus and Musulmans, what might not be expected from a systematic attempt to imbue the minds of the young generation with rational and useful European knowledge by means of Government schools? A few natives will be sent out with a sufficiency of education to impress on their minds the advantages that would accrue to their children in case they surpassed themselves in acquirements, and such an impression will be efficacious." These hopes have not quite been fulfilled, as we can now see after three quarters of a century. The influence of English education on the habits, character, and way of thought of its recipients has been to some extent disappointing, and the "few natives sent out with a sufficiency of education" have frequently utilised their education to create anything but a favourable impression towards British rule.

Probably the reason of this over-sanguine expectation is that the contrast between English and Native rule was a living reality in the days of Jervis both to the rulers and the ruled, and the latter had only to look back a few years to their own state if they wanted to be reminded, of which there was no need, of what native rule was like and the beneficent changes effected by the English. The two kinds of rule were then in such close juxtaposition that the natives could

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easily compare the two in their effects on their own selves. Now those days are long past, and generation of Indian subjects has grown up who have personally no knowledge of Native rule as it really was, but are hazily acquainted with it only through history, which they have already taken to perverting. To them it appears surrounded with a halo of romance which they have woven round it. All its radical defects are blurred over, and its few good points presented in striking colours. The reverse process is applied to the present rule; its defects are microscopically presented and magnified and its benefits are glossed over as mere matters of course in silence. Native States are in our time the only object lessons of native rule, but even these reflect more or less British rule throughout their administration and approach British methods and standards. Real indigenous rule as it flourished under the later Moghuls and Marathas is as dead as the Dodo, and the English are paying the penalty for having destroyed what served as a foil to set off their rule. No Native State, however bad it may be, now dares imitate the old methods and exemplify real native rule. Hence the present generation has fortunately no opportunity of personally knowing Moghul and Maratha rule. What nowadays passes with many Indians for a picture of such rule is more or less a fabrication of the imagination of interested persons inspired more or less by ill-will towards the present rule.

At such a time the careful enquiry of a person of Jervis' experience into the state of the Marathas under the last Peishwa is peculiarly interesting. And it must be said that Jervis was no prejudiced observer of Maratha rule. What we have quoted above about education shows clearly his sympathy for the Marathas. In these manuscript studies there are abundant signs of this sympathy. He minutely describes the Maratha system of administration especially of the land, and is careful to point out its good qualities wherever he sees them. He is also ready to point out defects in the British system as applied to these territories. His remarks were not meant for the public eye, so he could have no temptation in running down native rule. Indeed, what we gather about the latter is only incidentally brought in for the purposes of camparison. The chief defects of the Peishwa's administration were that the revenues were farmed out to middlemen at whose mercy were the cultivators, and that nearly every office was hereditary, and a good many were openly bought and sold to the highest bidders, who recouped themselves by levying all sorts of extra taxes and cesses on the people. "The corruption of the Peishwa's court became so general that the office of Kamavisdar (head officer of a district) was sold or entrusted to some profligate unfit

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person, who had plausible schemes to recommend him to notice, either for securing or increasing the revenue received in former years. The usual resort of these persons was to farm or sublet their own farms, and the subordinate agents threatened the villages with a new survey from year to year, which was relinquished from a compromised 'chur' or increase on the preceding rental. It is no wonder that such a train of events for 20 or 25 years had a most pernicious effect on the cultivation and more particularly on the general morals of the people. The produce of the very best lands is said to have diminished beyond all calculation, and it is not to be expected that any improvement can take place till every impediment which has been gradually growing out of such abuses is entirely removed." Jervis devotes much space to details of these "pernicious effects on the cultivation."

He examines most elaborately the economic state of the Deccan and Konkan provinces, and shows in what a wretched state they were left by the inherent faults of the Maratha administration, to which were added the worse evils that prevailed under the long rule of the last Peishwa. He has taken great trouble to ascertain the wages of all kinds of labourers, skilled and unskilled, under the Peishwa, and compares them with what they got within ten years of British rule. This whole section on wages is very important, and worth close study at present. I have nowhere else seen such a minute and thorough enquiry into the economic condition of the Marathas towards the close of their rule. He sums up the result as follows :—"The above table shows a marked enhancement in the wages of all classes of handicrafts-men and servants, although grain is become from 20 to 50 per cent. cheaper under the British in ten years than under the Peishwa. In the wages of the numerous servants the same advance has taken place. The superior cheapness in some grains extends to more than 100 per cent." Rice, which was 12 seers for a rupee under the Peishwa, became 16 seers under the British; jowari also fell in price from 21 1-3 to 32 seers for a rupee, and bajri, the common grain of the Marathas, became cheaper still, 28 seers to the rupee, whilst under the Peishwa only 17 6-20 seers could be obtained for the same amount. A seer in the above calculations is equal to nearly two pounds.

The following picture, drawn by Jervis from the life in the course of his numerous peregrinations in the Deccan country, well describes a typical Maratha village as it had just come into British hands after a long spell of indigenous misrule :—"The picture of one village in the Desh is the picture of nearly all. A collection of whitish mud-walled houses of one storey built round small courts, with mud terraces, with only one entrance, and without external windows, are thrown together promiscuously, the streets being left to accident.

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These, surrounded by a high thin whitish mud-wall without ramparts, and rarely having mud towers and loop holes enclosing a square small mud fort, with high walls and a tower at each angle, constitute a Deccan village. The Gaokoss or Village wall is in good or bad repair, agreeably to the means of the inhabitants, and the character of the chief man, generally the owner of the mud fortlet or gadhee. Poverty makes great breaches in the walls. A sense of personal insecurity under former Governments stimulated the inhabitants to keep them up, but a freedom from the excursions of the Pindaris and other predatory bands, under our Government, has made the inhabitants neglect their defences, and the breaches and crumbling walls add to the general desolate appearance of these roofless habitations of man. Usually there is but one gate in the village wall. In front of this there is an isolated building walled on three sides and open on the fourth towards the gate. In this building there is a misshapen figure of a god. Here the guides, gossips and idlers are found and here the villagers assemble in the evening under a peepul tree if the soil will support one, which overshadows the building."

The political anarchy that prevailed under the latter part of Maratha Rule has been depicted by some writers like Elphinstone and Malcolm, but no one has drawn such a minutely accurate picture of the less apparent, because deeply seated, economic and moral anarchy which was a curse of the Deccan and Konkan territories of the last Peishwas, as Lt.-Colonel Thomas Jervis in these Manuscript volumes. These are deserving of study, from several points of view; but to us their most absorbing interest lies in what may be called their political significance, especially at present when British Rule is subjected to such severe criticism, mostly by interested and prejudiced critics. British rule does not shun, but courts comparison with Native rule, and the Manuscript volumes of Jervis are welcome materials for a fair and first-hand comparison, because they were written by an officer who possessed unique opportunities, which few of his contemporaries seized and utilised, and which have long since passed away.

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APPENDIX.

The following extracts from a work of Lt.-Col. T. B. Jervis, published in 1853 and now long out of print and scarce, were kindly communicated to me by Mr. W. Paget Jervis, his son, himself an Anglo Indian having been born in Belgaum though his profession and studies have taken him to Italy where he is for long settled and is now Conservator of the Royal Italian Industrial Museum at Turin. Mr. Jervis furnishes a further illustration in his career of the cosmopolitanism of the family, inherited from his German and Polish ancestors, to which I have already referred. Born in India, bred in England, he is now settled in Italy. These passages illustrate what I have said about the character of Jervis and show his abounding sympathy for the Indian people.

They occur in a book written at the time of the last great Parliamentary inquiry into Indian affairs in 1852-53, which contain his mature considerations on the character of the people and administration of the country.

After giving numerous historical anecdotes of the fomer cruel misrule of their subjects by the despotic tyrants of the natives of India he remarks that "it was not by momentary tyranny or sudden debasement of morals in consequence of the fall of the great Moghul Empire, that the people were brought to submit to their new rulers, or to inflict such iniquitous measures. These were the work of time as must be the process of amelioration. The want of confidence, joined to prevalent timidity engendered the deception which grew up to that fearful expansiveness of perjury, chicanery and revenge, which was most especially to be lamented in the dispensation of justice and which no contrivance of human wisdom can reach but through the channels of sound and universal education, publicity and judicious economy," (*India in its Relation to Great Britain*, p. 21).

"Terror and despatch have been the insignia of the Mahomedan criminal law. The political distinctions of priest-craft and their necessity were the rude impulses to justice in that of the Hindu—not naturally a cruel though revengeful, but peculiarly apathetic race, and in most instances very unwilling to visit crime with any punishment at all, from a morbid dislike to severity. They evince no sympathy in suffering, no co-operation in the suppression of crime; those incentives to the resort of pure principles, truth, equity and mercy, are entirely wanting, and we must call up these master-spirits—awaken in short where it may exist, conscience,—by the mild appeal of education." (p. 20.)

"The monstrous evil of the system we have described were essentially those of her rulers, for the natural disposition and the qualities of the natives of India, are in most respects fully comparable, or—I speak of the more intelligent and better classes there—perhaps superior

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to the European. *Angeli forent si essent Christiani:* but for the existence of Caste, and the baneful as well as preponderating influence of the Mahomedan and Hindu religion. Caste deprived and to this day deprives the great mass of the population of the possibility of extrication from a condition of hopeless dependence. The constitution of Caste was an incredibly subtle polity for the dividing of the masses, a compact between despotism and priest-craft for the propagation of ancient cruel rites." (p. 23).

"The great and necessary precaution to be taken, both in regard to its home and executive administration is to treat India as it *is*—as its people desire and need—and with reference to its former condition and laws, and to take no steps which shall endanger our sovereignty." (p. 52.)

"The grand and perpetual object we must keep in sight, practical sound education, from the prince to the peasant, in private life, in public intercommunication with them, in transactions with one another, in their duties to one another and to God; we cannot and dare not overlook this." (p. 62).

"All legislation contemplated for whatever purpose, whether it be the law or education or any improvement of the country, to be beneficial, permanent and acceptable, must proceed with the entire concurrence of the people, and appear to emanate entirely from them, nor could we overlook the important fact that in so doing there can be no room left for complaint that we had imposed any objectionable rule or principle affecting their liberty of conscience, nor could there be any bar to their entertaining friendly counsels. Out of such a system sprang up the growing desire—first evidenced by a Parsi gentleman* a magistrate of Bombay, in the case of his own daughter—for the education of the females of India. The influence which the females have ever exercised in civilized countries of Europe is fully understood, but their relative power in a society constituted very differently, as that in Eastern countries, has been little thought of. They have urged on whole nations to war, to enterprises of unknown importance, to the more peaceful and noble duties of every-day life." (p. 64).

"We may glean many important particulars from history, ancient and modern and from the monuments of art still surviving, relating to the sovereigns and the priesthood; but the important records of the mind of the people are permanently inscribed on a more curious monument, the fabric of society, to be seen and read of all men, and wisely employed, as they are held out for the warning and guidance of Governments. The fiat of the Minister may propose, but the mind of the people is that which must dispose." (p. 6).

* The late Maneckji Cursetji (1807—1887), the well-known pioneer of Female Education and Social Reform among Parsis.—R. P.K.

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Opinions of some Scholars and of the Press on Mr. R. P. Karkaria's Writings.

THE LATE RIGHT HON. PROF. F. MAX MÜLLER, P. C., says:
"See an excellent account by Karkaria."

Auld Lang Syne, II Series, page 121.

M. AUGUSTIN FILON, THE EMINENT FRENCH WRITER, IN A LONG ARTICLE IN THE "JOURNAL DES DEBATS," THE LEADING FRENCH NEWSPAPER, says:

"Again there is another reason to speak of Mr. Karkaria. By talent and literary gifts he is a real writer. With one exception, no native who uses English to express his thought handles it with such ease and distinction. His book is a book indeed, and there are few volumes published in England of which we can say as much. But the principal reason for hearing Mr. Karkaria is that he lays before us a new point: entire confidence and enthusiastic gratitude towards the English . . . ."

THE HON'BLE MR. E. GILES, M.A., C.I.E., DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, BOMBAY, IN HIS REPORT TO GOVERNMENT ON INDIAN PUBLICATIONS, says:

"Under the heading of poetry, Mr. R. P. Karkaria's 'Selections from Parnell' deserve mention. Probably few have learnt or remember the name of Parnell, the Irish poet of the early part of the eighteenth century, and Mr. Karkaria's excellent Preface is perhaps as instructive as the three short poems which it introduces. He at least maintains by this little volume his established character for intelligent research."

THE RIGHT HON'BLE W. E. H. LECKY, AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY," writes:

" . . . I have been much interested by your 'Essays in English History,' and am flattered by finding that I have been able to contribute something of them."

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SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD, K.C.I.E., writes in the *Bombay Gazette*:

"... In conclusion, permit me to express the hope that Mr. Karkaria may devote himself to the continuation of the labours of the late James Douglas in gradually recovering from oblivion all that is of good report and that tends to instruction and edification in the local history of the loyal Town and Island of Bombay. He seems to be equipped with every necessary implement for the work."

MR. R. W. FRASER, LL.B., I.C.S. (RETIRED), IN HIS "LITERARY HISTORY OF INDIA," says:

"In his book R. P. Karkaria thus points out from an Indian point of view the tendencies so apparent to all in one direction of the continued contact with a new and Western civilization .... In the same work the opinion is given on this problem of the future, the most momentous not only for India but for the whole civilised world. ..." (pp. 442-3).

MR. A. T. CRAWFORD, C.M.G., I.C.S. (RETIRED), IN HIS "OUR TROUBLES IN THE DECCAN," says:

"This graphic description is now shown, on very excellent authority, to be not quite accurate, not quite fair to Shivaji. Mr. R. P. Karkaria, a Parsi historian of high repute, has hunted out old 'bakhars' (documents) of undoubted authenticity, and proves in an able work on Pratapghad that ...." (p. 111).

THE LATE DR. G. O. LEITNER, EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW," says in his Review:

"Our learned contributor, from whose pen we hope to receive a continuance of valuable contributions to Indian history, has ..... on the special subjects so ably dealt with by Professor Karkaria .... We shall be much interested in learning from the distinguished author of the above ....."

[*The* TIMES, London.]

"Mr. Karkaria, the author of the present book, is a Parsi, and has already obtained an honourable place in English literature as Editor of Carlyle's unpublished Lectures from the original manuscript."

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[*The* DAILY NEWS.]

"The author has already distinguished himself as a writer on Anglo-Indian history. . . . The Professor, one of the most eminent of native scholars, exemplifies in his own person the result of that interaction between English and Native influences which he proposes to elucidate."

[*The* SATURDAY REVIEW.]

"From the literary standpoint Mr. Karkaria's work is unexceptionable. He writes English easily and gracefully."

[*The* ATHENÆUM.]

"He has done his work honestly and well. He writes English fluently, and judiciously goes to best authorities for his facts and ideas."

[*The* LITERARY WORLD.]

"This work merits attention from the light it throws upon the present state of religious and social movements in India. The writer, a native of Bombay, uses the English language with wonderful facility and skill, yet seems to have retained his hold on native thought and action in spite of his acquisition of a polished English style."

[*The* MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.]

"Mr. Karkaria's book is well and thoughtfully written throughout and is a very able representation of the principles of the quieter school of Indian liberalism . . . In this connection we may recommend some very thoughtful remarks by Mr. Karkaria on the general subject of Christianity in India."

[*The* GUARDIAN.]

"It is pleasantly written and contains in the interstices of biography, as it were, much information respecting the tendencies of thought in modern India. . . . . The late Dr. Wilson to whose benevolent zeal for education Mr. Karkaria bears the most honourable testimony."

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[*Literature* (published by the London TIMES).]

"Professor Karkaria is one of the most typical representatives of English culture in India, and his book will be a valuable source of information about our great dependency. He had the strange good fortune to discover the long-lost MS. of the Lectures of Carlyle . . . ."

[*The* GLASGOW HERALD.]

"Mr. Karkaria, besides writing in a wonderfully good English style, shows a wise liberalism of thought, which, if shared by many of his educated countrymen, is a good omen for the future of India. . . . His remarks on the present state of native opinion in India are not the least valuable part of his book, and well deserve the attention of our public men."

[*The* WESTMINSTER GAZETTE.]

"A most interesting sketch which will, we trust, be very widely read."

[COLONIES AND INDIA.]

"The author handles his subject well, and the way in which all the good points are brought out in the book is simply marvellous, while the language is clear and concise. The author is to be congratulated on the successful way in which he has written a work not alone of an interesting character, but one full of valuable and useful information to the reading public."

[INDIA (LONDON).]

"Mr. Karkaria has already done excellent service to literature by rescuing, from the records of the Bombay Asiatic Society, Carlyle's unpublished Lectures . . . now takes another step in advance, and presents to Engli readers a concise, clear and effective sketch. . . . ."

[*The* PIONEER.]

"What is the age of another Anglo-Indian word now equally popularised—'grass widow'? Mr. R. P. Karkaria, a Bombay scholar, brings the question forward in a note in the *Athenæum* apropos of its appearance in the fourth volume of the New Oxford English Dictionary just published. In this the earliest quotation given for the word is Lang's Wanderings in India, published in 1859. Mr. Karkaria, however, is able to produce an instance fifteen years earlier than that."

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[*The* MADRAS MAIL.]

"In the thoughtful article on 'The Oldest Paper in India' in the *Calcutta Review*, Mr. R. P. Karkaria touches on an important point in the concluding paragraph, namely, the encouragement that might and should be given by Government to native newspapers of good standing."

[*The* HINDU, Madras.]

"Mr. R. P. Karkaria, who is, we believe, a Parsi gentleman, seems to be a gifted writer. The volume is certainly very interesting and, besides showing considerable literary ability, contains shrewd and edifying observations by the author on the present condition of Indian society . . . . . On the whole Mr. Karkaria has written an exceedingly readable book, and if he is an Indian, we might add, he has brought credit to the literary capacity of an educated Indian mind."

[*The* RAST GOFTAR, Bombay.]

"We are extremely glad to see that among the subjects to be treated in the *Dictionary of National Biography* edited by Sir Leslie Stephen and Mr. Sidney Lee the name of the late Mr. Curwen, editor of the *Times of India* and a distinguished writer, has been included, and this pleasure is increased by the fact that our distinguished Parsi man of letters, Mr. R. P. Karkaria, a close friend of the late Mr. Curwen, has been entrusted with the biography in this monumental work. Mr. Karkaria is the only Indian writer who has had the honour done him of being invited to take a part in this grand work of sixty-four volumes, which will prove, for generations to come, a monument of the triumph of literary skill and combination on the part of our best writers, and generous enterprise on the part of the munificent publishers, Messrs. Smith and Elder. Nearly all the best English writers of to-day have written for this great work, which is more representative in this respect than even the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and we are greatly gratified to find one of our writers associated with them."

[*The* INDIAN MIRROR, Calcutta.]

Mr. R. P. Karkaria, the writer of this valuable sketch, has acquitted himself very creditably indeed. Master of a facile pen and keen observer of the signs of the times that he is, he has clothed his work literally in 'thoughts that breathe and words that burn'."

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[*The* PIONEER.]

"The current number of the *Calcutta Review* contains a most interesting article by Mr. Karkaria entitled '1837 and 1897, two years of calamities.' The succession of coincidences is certainly remarkable and suggests not a few reflections. . . . Perhaps the most striking parallel between the two years, which are separated by sixty years, the space allotted to two generations of men, is the existence of Plague in India in the year 1837, the measures taken to prevent its spread, and the reception given to these measures. We rubbed our eyes as we read the passages of the article dealing with this subject and wondered whether we were not suffering from ocular delusion,—whether, in fact, we were not reading the comments of a modern journal. Mr. Karkaria quotes Metcalfe's distinguished biographer to this effect. We join with Mr. Karkaria in regretting that Metcalfe's minute was not published in the selections made by his biographer, Kaye. A copy, if not the original, is probably in existence, and we trust that it will be published. It would be extremely interesting at the present time. For further details our readers will do well to consult Mr. Karkaria's article."

[*The* PIONEER.]

"Some time ago in connection with an interesting article by Mr. Karkaria in the *Calcutta Review* we said it would be interesting to have the minute on the Plague promulgated by Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1837 reproduced at the present time. By the courtesy of Mr. Karkaria, who has unearthed a copy, we are now able to give the document, which presents many interesting points of comparison.

"The minute on the Plague which Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote while Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces in 1837, is reproduced elsewhere, a copy having been placed at our disposal by the courtesy of Mr. R. P. Karkaria, of Bombay."

[*From the* "INDIAN MAGAZINE AND REVIEW," ISSUED [illegible] NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION, ED. MISS MANNING, L[illegible]

"Mr. R.P. Karkaria,—the learned Parsi historical s[illegible] ed by Right who has written on Shivaji, Mahmud of Ghazni an[illegible] Royal Indian historical subjects and whose new book 'India [illegible]aving Years of Progress and Reform,' recently published by [illegible]is- Clarendon Press, Oxford, has been welcomed by the pr[illegible] in England, France and India,—delivered a very interesting lecture before the Bombay Royal Asiatic Society on the subject of 'Akbar and the Parsis,' in which he investigated the subject of that enlightened monarch's connexion with the famous religion of Zoroaster. The lecture was the second of a series which will form the chapters of Mr. Karkaria's forthcoming book on Akbar's New Religion" . . . Mr. Karkaria examined exhaustively the whole

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subject and showed that Akbar was affected much by the pure faith of Zoroaster, and that the honour of impressing it upon him is due to Ardeshir, a learned and pious priest from Kerman in Persia, who has been expressly mentioned in this connexion by the *Dabistan*, the chief authority on the subject of Akbar's religious views."

The TIMES OF INDIA, in the Course of a Leading Article, says:

"There is now no need to introduce Mr. Karkaria to the public for, as the London *Times* said the other day in a long and appreciative notice of this new book, he has obtained an honourable place in English literature by his scholarly edition of Carlyle's unpublished lectures from the original manuscript. He is, moreover, well known by his series of Indian historical studies as a conscientious original investigator of history; and the important new light he has thrown on some obscure episodes and characters of Indian history mark him out as a critical historian of no mean order. Critical researches among recondite sources have the reputation of being dull and dry-as-dust even in the hands of good historians; but Mr. Karkaria has a rare gift of style which makes his writings so eminently readable and interesting . . . . . We did not expect that he would do it in such a way as to produce a book of absorbing interest to Englishmen and Indians alike, teeming with pictures of life, character sketches, shrewd observations on men and movements, clothed in a style which makes every page readable and enjoyable. It gives a manly, readable, reliable account of several phases of Indian development of the present day by one who has observed at first hand the movements that he describes, and who brings his wide and accurate knowledge of literature and of other countries and periods of history to bear upon his own. It may well be called a substantial contribu- [redacted] o the philosophy of the history of India under the [redacted], and we hope the author may extend his scope and [redacted]s on a larger scale such a complete philosophical his- [redacted]f our own times as he is engaged at present in giving a [redacted]l history of the past . . . . Mr. Karkaria's book [redacted]s to us all this, and is indispensable to any one who [redacted] to be acquainted with the currents and under-currents [redacted]ndian life and thought of our day. The political move- [redacted]t is so noisily prominent that it is all that most observers [redacted]ink of as existing. But Mr. Karkaria, while he gives it its due both of praise and criticism, shows us there are social and religious aspects also of what he well calls the renascence of the Indian intellect under our rule, and these, though quieter, are far more important. On the religions he has to say a great deal that is eminently sensible, fair-minded and instructive. His chapter on Christianity in India, and its influence on the educated Indians could only have been written by a high-minded and intimate observer who has seen

the great good of that religion, yet who thinks it unsuited to the Oriental mind in its present state. All his remarks on this momentous subject are deeply interesting, and should be closely pondered over by those who would evangelise India. . . . . We congratulate Mr. Karkaria on the success he has achieved, and hope he will one day give us a larger history of the India of this century on the plan and style which distinguish his present work. Mr. Karkaria's book, if translated into the Vernaculars, will also prove interesting to the Indians themselves as showing what the best minds among them think about the most important questions and movements of the day."

[*The* TIMES OF INDIA.]

"Mr. Karkaria has shown the way to Mahratha scholars by his interesting and in some points startling studies about Shivaji, and by diving into the recesses of Mahratha archives brought out facts hitherto not known to the English reading public. We are glad to welcome a new edition of his 'Shivaji and the Pratabghad Tragedy', which has ere now attracted considerable notice both here and in Europe. It has been well called the most noteworthy recent contribution to Indian history, and everyone who now writes about Shivaji and the early Mahratha history must take account of it and consider the facts and arguments adduced by Mr. Karkaria. These facts and arguments were lately the subject of criticism at the hands of a correspondent in our columns, but so far as we can see they were not much affected by it. . . . This broad-mided and eloquent estimate of the historian's duty with regard to heroes of a rude bygone age ought in itself to show that the vindication of the great Mahratha hero is in extremely skilful and competent hands."

[*The* BOMBAY GAZETTE.]

"Mr. R. P. Karkaria has been elected a Fellow [illegible] Royal Historical Society. Mr. Karkaria was nominat[illegible] the Right Hon'ble Professor Max Müller and the [illegible] Hon'ble Prof. Lecky, the distinguished historian. The [illegible] Historical Society is incorporated by Royal Charter, h[illegible] the Queen for its patron, and is the leading Society for [illegible] torical research. We congratulate Mr. Karkaria on this honour done to him by this learned body for his historical scholarship."

(19th Nov. 1898.)

THE TIMES PRESS—5134·05

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Biographical Notice of **Mr. R. P. KARKARIA** in "**Dictionary of Indian Biography**" by Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., I.C.S., etc., London: Sonnenschein, 1906.

KARKARIA, RUSTOMJI PESTONJI.

"BORN at Bombay, May 16th, 1869: educated at St. Xavier's School and College: B.A., 1888: Senior Fellow: Ass. Professor of English and History, 1891: Examiner to the Bombay University in History, Geography, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Political Economy: helped to found, in 1896, the Collegiate Institution: became its Principal and Professor of English Literature: his action in obtaining the recognition of private Colleges led partly to the Universities Act of 1904: Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, 1898: M. R. A. S., Bombay, 1888: M. R. A. S., London, 1900: Member of the American Oriental Society, 1897: has contributed papers to many Journals of Societies, also to the Anglo-Indian and English newspapers on Indian subjects: discovered and published Carlyle's Lectures on European Literature, with notes: author of works on Indian History and Politics, Sivaji, Akbar, Essays on English History, India under Victoria, on the Native Press: translated the Parsi Sacred Book,—the Dinkard: served on Committees of the Parsi Community to consider questions of Religious Education, of Social Amelioration of admitting Proselytes, and other subjects on which he has written largely." (P. 129.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Notice in **WHO'S WHO** latest edition, 1906, (p. 929). Adam and Charles Black, London.

"KARKARIA, R. P.; born Bombay, 16th May 1869; B. A., 1888; Fellow and Professor, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, 1891; Principal, Collegiate Institution, 1898; Examiner in History and Philosophy, Bombay University; F. R. Hist. S., (1898); M. R. A. S. PUBLICATIONS: Edited Carlyle's Lectures on European Literature, and Parnell's Poems; India—Forty Years of Progress and Reform, India since the Mutiny, Historical Sketch of the Parsis, Shivaji, Akbar and other Essays; Bibliography of Bombay; Translated Parsi Sacred Book, the Pahlavi Dinkard; Death of Shivaji. Contributes to leading Anglo-Indian Papers and English Reviews; Member of various Commissions appointed by the Parsi Community on Religious Education, on Proselytism, on Religious Trusts, etc. Is engaged on writing a Historical Work on the Parsis on an extensive scale. RECREATIONS: Book-hunting and Coin collecting. ADDRESS: Tardeo, Bombay." (P. 929.)

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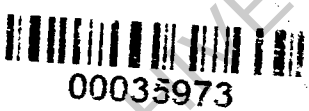

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